# ‘The colours of each piece’: production and consumption of Chinese enamelled porcelain, c.1728-c.1780

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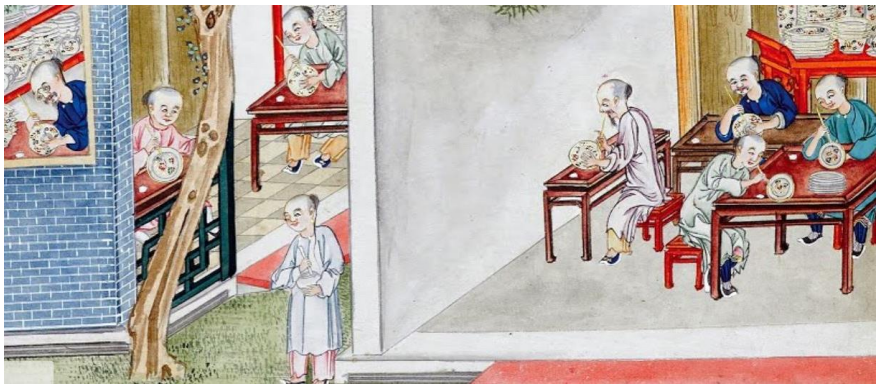

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# Declaration

I, Tang Hui, confirm that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Cover Illustrations:

Upper: Decorating porcelain in enamel colours, Album leaf, Watercolours, *c.*1750s. Hong Kong Maritime Museum, HKMM2012.0101.0021(detail).

Lower: A Canton porcelain shop waiting for foreign customers. Album leaf, Watercolours, *c.*1750s, Hong Kong Maritime Museum, HKMM2012.0101.0033(detail).

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# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| B&W | Blue and White |
| EEIC | English East India Company |
| DAC | Danish Asiatic Company |
| IOR | India Office Record, BL, London |
| SOAS | School of Oriental and African Studies |
| VOC | Dutch East India Company |

# Currency

3 taels of silver = 1 £ [1]

[1] H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834*, vol.1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. xxii.

# Abstract

The innovation of enamels and enamel painting techniques on porcelain during the 1720s marked the establishment of a new type of porcelain product which soon played a significant role in Chinese porcelain consumption, both domestically and globally. Yet, the impact of this innovation on production and consumption has rarely been studied. This thesis addresses this gap by offering a historical perspective on eighteenth century Chinese enamelled porcelain, its production and consumption, both in domestic and export markets.

It is demonstrated that both the Qing court and the local manufactures responded actively to new technological developments. Following the discussion on how the court and local manufactures interacted and the technology was transferred, my thesis continues to demonstrate the impact of technological innovation on the domestic and export markets. It has shown in domestic market, enamelled porcelain was not only consumed by the imperial court, as current scholarship assumed, rather it had reached a wider set of consumers. In terms of export porcelain trade, my detailed examinations and analyses of the English East India Company Records demonstrate that enamelled porcelain played significant roles over different periods.

Overall, this research contributes to knowledge about enamelled porcelain consumption in eighteenth-century China and beyond, and also sheds light on the study of Chinese porcelain and the Chinese porcelain trade. The discussion on the enamelled porcelain trade between China and the English East India Company during the eighteenth century provides a detailed insight into how the Chinese porcelain trade developed and changed over time.

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# CHAPTER 1. Introduction

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a significant technological innovation took place in Chinese porcelain production. The application of glass-based pigment to the glaze of porcelain was introduced to the Qing court by European missionaries.[1] Under the direct supervision of the Qing emperor, the technique of producing and using enamel colours soon developed and transferred to other manufactures. The innovation of applying new enamel colours to porcelain only took place within a short period and was to dominate all porcelain consumption in the later period, both in China and beyond. This change has had a significant impact on Chinese porcelain production and domestic consumption, as well as the export trade.

Existing scholarship, however, remains silent on the impact of this technological innovation and its wide-reaching consequences. The research presented in this thesis thus aims to offer an historical and contextualized perspective on this major innovation in the process of enamelled porcelain production, and to explore aspects related to the production of enamelled porcelain, its domestic consumption and the export trade. This thesis first investigates the transmission of enamels from the court to Jingdezhen and painting techniques in different sites of porcelain production. It discusses how new techniques were integrated into the local production processes within the Qing Empire. Secondly, it explores the place of enamelled porcelain in

[1] It is to note that Enamels as colourants were already used in glass and Chinese cloisonné enamelling on metal from the fifteenth century. But it was the introduction of new enamel colours from the West that led to the technological innovation in porcelain production in China. See, Shi Jingfei, *Riyue Guanghua, Qinggong huafalang* [Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court] (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 2012), pp.18-26.

patterns of consumption of eighteenth-century China. It reveals that the enamelled porcelain of the eighteenth century was not exclusively consumed by the Imperial Court or the export market, as has often been assumed, but was also consumed within the domestic market. Finally, it investigates the enamelled porcelain trade between China and the English East India Company (Hereafter, the EEIC) to explore the impact of such new products on trade in Canton.

In this introduction, I will first clarify the terms in use for enamelled porcelain and then introduce my main arguments and the purpose of this thesis. Then I will consider the literature related to enamelled porcelain in different research fields. In the fourth section I will introduce the main sources and the methodology used for my research. The last section will provide an explanation of the structure of this dissertation.

## 1.1. Clarification of Terminology

The technique of applying enamels over the glaze in China's porcelain production can be dated back to the thirteenth century in northern China. By the end of the fifteenth century, Jingdezhen potters were able to use six enamel colours: red, yellow, green, turquoise, aubergine, and black. By the 1720s, new enamel colours were introduced to China, which were translucent and opaque over-glaze colours. These new enamels were used to paint porcelain at the imperial workshops in the court and then transferred to manufacture in Jingdezhen. The development of new enamels consisted primarily of three new enamels: ruby enamel, opaque white and opaque yellow. During the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735), the manufacture of enamel colours yielded

a significant technical breakthrough, in that they successfully created eighteen new enamel colours. In 1729, the court sent enamel colours to their Imperial Kilns[2] to produce enamelled porcelain at Jingdezhen. From this point onwards, the manufacture of painting enamel on porcelain was expanded.[3] The following discussion will be addressed on the terms that applied on enamelled porcelain decorated with new enamel colours and techniques.

There are problems with Chinese terminology for decorating porcelain in these new enamel colours, and not all authors agree on the use and meanings of the terms. In Chinese, the terms *falangcai* (enamel colours, 珐琅彩), *yangcai* (foreign colours，洋彩) and *fencai* (soft or powder colours，粉彩) all appear. In the West, writers describe all these wares as *famille rose*.[4] In much current scholarship, the term *falangcai* (enamel colours) porcelain refers to porcelain decorated in over-glazed enamel, which was exclusively painted and fired in the Imperial workshop at the Qing

[2] The official institutions and organisations were established and controlled or oversaw ceramic production in Jingdezhen, as now generally called Imperial Kilns, which were used to produce porcelain for the imperial household at the court during the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911). As a result, the product from 'Imperial Kiln' is often associated with the best quality or the newest techniques. However, as it is argued by Margaret Medley that the term of Imperial Kiln is problematic, as there was no such kiln in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), see Margaret Medley, 'Ching-tê Chên and the Problem of the 'Imperial Kilns', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 29, 2 (1966), pp.326-338. And it is also proved that the Imperial Kiln did not monopoly new techniques of production, see Wang Guangyao, *Zhongguo gudai guanyao zhidu* [Administration of the Imperial kilns in China] (Beijing: Zijincheng,2004), pp.18-20.

[3] For a clear introduction of new enamels to China, see, Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood, with additional contribution by Ts'ai Mei-fen and Zhang Fukang, *Science and Civilisation in China Volume 5, Part 12, Ceramic Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.364-368.

[4] For more discussion of the definition of enamelled porcelain, see Rosemary E. Scott, *For the Imperial Court: Qing Porcelain from the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art* (New York: The Percival David Foundation and the American Federation of Arts, 1997), p.39. See also Cai Hebi, *Qing Gongzhong falangci tezhan* [Special Exhibition of Ch'ing Dynasty Enamelled Porcelain of the Imperial Ateliers] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1999), pp. 6-8. Liao Baoxiu, *Huali yangcai: Qianlong yancai tezhan* [Illustrated Catalogue of Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung reign] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2008), pp.10-30.

court.[5] *Yangcai* was first mentioned in 1735 by Tang Ying, the supervisor of the Imperial Kiln in Jingdezhen who commented that *Yangcai* is a type which imitates the *falang* (enamel) style of painting.[6] In Chinese, the word *yang* means 'ocean', and is used as a reference to all things from countries overseas. Because the painting techniques and the material enamel used in the imperial workshop were originally from Western countries, the painting techniques and the material enamel were categorised as bearing the characteristics of *yang* (foreign). *Famille rose* was first invented by Albert Jacquemart and Edmond Le Blant in 1862,[7] in order to distinguish porcelain of different appearances judging from the dominant decorated enamel colours. *Fencai* literally means powdery colour. It aptly described such enamel, which was both opaque and has a powdery texture.

Those terms mentioned above are still widely used in different contexts. There is a tendency among scholars to abandon the term *famille rose.* However, in museum collections, the term *famille rose* is still widely used. Some of them apply 'porcelain painted in polychrome enamels' which I consider a better term. For example, the Victoria and Albert Museum has entitled most of the collection of Chinese enamelled porcelain 'porcelain painted in polychrome enamels' but lists *famille rose* as well in the description in their online descriptions.

Enamelled porcelain in this research refers to porcelain decorated with new enamels and new enamelling techniques, following technological innovation. It is a

[5] Yu Peijin (ed.), *Jincheng xuying: Yongzheng falangci tezhan* [A special of exhibition of porcelain with painted enamel in Yongzheng period of the Qing dynasty] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2012), p.10.
[6] Liao, *Huali caici*, pp.32-34.
[7] Albert Jacquemart, Edmond Le Blant, *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelain* (Paris, 1862), p.70; Sir Harry Garner, 'The Origins of Famillie Rose', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society,* 37(1967-1969), pp.1-16.

set of products which use enamel material and painted enamel techniques that has been transmitted from European missionaries. I use the term ‘enamelled porcelain’ throughout my thesis because it presents the basic material and the techniques of manufacture, and was used in trade records between the English East India Company and China of the eighteenth century. From the point of view that one major part of my research focused on the trade, I apply enamelled porcelain in order to situate it historically.

## 1.2. Main Arguments and Objectives

The principle objective of this thesis is to show that eighteenth-century China was not merely a place of manufactures and export; rather, it responded actively to the availability of new technologies and markets. Seeing China as merely a place of manufacture which exported various commodities is a crucial blind spot in current thinking about eighteenth-century trade. Indeed, current scholarship has largely focused on the surviving objects in overseas countries, the large volume of the trade and how China’s export goods played a role in other cultures and economies globally. This thesis will move beyond the trends of the existing literature about the impact of Chinese export trade on world history by asking how this trade influenced China. It situates the idea that enamel and enamelling techniques were transmitted from Europe to China during the late and early eighteenth centuries within a broader historical context, and will show that new enamels and enamelling techniques were quickly adopted and used for the production of enamelled porcelain. It also reveals that production expanded from small workshops in the court to a large manufacture site at

Jingdezhen, and that eventually enamelled porcelains found their way to be sold and to be produced at the global market in Canton.

Secondly, this thesis aims to challenge the traditional narrative of Chinese porcelain's impact on world history, which has mostly focused on blue-and-white. We should specify the difference between the blue and white and enamelled porcelain, and not examine them as one and the same. Once we know the extent to which over-glazed and colourful enamelled porcelain became available in global markets, it will become clear that blue-and-white porcelain can no longer form the only focus for analysing Chinese porcelain's role in world history in the eighteenth century. As I will show in this thesis, enamelled porcelain, as a new type of product, satisfied domestic and overseas consumers' latest tastes. Moreover, trade in enamelled porcelain between China and the European countries changed the trade patterns of porcelain in Canton.

Thirdly, by historicizing more carefully the discourses and practices of the production of enamels in different local manufacturing sites (Beijing, Jingdezhen, Canton), I will show that the transmission of the technique, the technological innovation that followed within the Chinese manufacturing practice, the expansion of production in China, and the proliferation of the enamelled porcelain trade all took place within a very short period of time, from the 1720s to the 1750s. Based on the fact that there were various exchanges in technology, culture, design and knowledge in this period, I will argue that during the eighteenth century, the history of domestic wares and export wares could not be separated. In other words, the story of what

happened within China is inextricably linked to global patterns of technology, production and consumption.[8]

This thesis aims to extend our knowledge of Chinese porcelain of the eighteenth century. It will shed light on studies of Chinese porcelain from art historians, but will argue that we should move on from a sole focus on the style and physical characteristics of individual pieces of porcelain to a wider study of the context of production and consumption. In doing so, how and why styles changed and why production sites shifted from one place to another can be better understood.

This thesis also aims to provide a different approach to studies of Chinese export porcelain trade. This research does not attempt to revisit what has already been accomplished for curatorship, connoisseurship and interested collectors. Nor does this thesis look at porcelain from the point of view of individual objects or from the perspective of the quantities exported; rather it looks at porcelain as a dynamic field which was shaped by consumers, artisans, craftsmen and commercial networks. This field involves complex interrelated social processes such as technological innovation, consumption and global trade, which need to be studied in their connected contexts.

[8] Shi Jingfei, *Riyue Guanghua, Qinggong huafalang* [Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court] (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 2012), pp.161-181. Xu Xiaodong, 'Europe-China-Europe: The Transmission of the Craft of Painted Enamel in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East 1600-1800 Trading Eurasia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), pp.92-106. Xu Xiaodong, 'Kangxi Yongzheng Shiqi Gongting yu Difang Huafalang de Hudong' [The technological interactions of enamelled porcelain between the court and local production during Kangxi, Yongzheng reigns] in Dagmar Schäfer (ed.), *Gongting yu defang: shiqi yu shiba shiji de jishu jiaoliu* [The court and the localities-technological knowledge circulation in the 17th and 18th centuries] (Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe, 2010), pp.277-336.

## 1.3. Research Context

This research touches upon several historiographies, ranging from art history, to the history of Chinese export porcelain, to the history of the Chinese export trade at Canton. Below, I first consider the current studies of enamelled porcelain from the perspective of art history, which focuses on enamelled porcelain as a separate category of object. I shall argue that this method of approaching enamelled porcelain as a separate category is useful in understanding the nature of surviving objects on the basis of their style and decoration. Nonetheless, this work limits our understanding of the historical context in which enamelled porcelain was made and traded.

Second, I consider existing scholarship on the Chinese export porcelain trade at Canton and its influence on other markets beyond China. Considering Chinese export porcelain as a type of commodity helps economic historians approach the development of the economy of eighteenth-century Europe. It also helps global historians to explore the role that certain commodities have played in different parts of the globe. However, by focusing only on enamelled porcelain as export porcelain and on the impact of its trade on other overseas places, many other aspects have been ignored. We know little about how the global trade of porcelain changed China itself, and how trade changed the local port city at Canton. Such questions are indeed important, since they lay the foundations for understanding how China responded to the world beyond its own boundaries. Almost all research I refer to in the following sections ignores the connection between external developments in consumption and trade and technological innovation in China. For example, in his remarkable research

*The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*,[9] Robert Finlay offers a new perspective on the global spread of Chinese ceramics, where he positioned Chinese porcelain in the emerging field of the history of global trade in commodities and suggested its impact on world commerce and economic behaviour. However, he has barely attempted to consider the impact on China at the same time.

This thesis views enamelled porcelain as a whole, rather than as individual objects, to explore its production, its domestic consumption, and its trade at Canton with the East India Companies. It identifies different trajectories for enamelled porcelain through time and space, with a view to situating enamelled porcelain within its historical context.

### 1.3.1. Enamelled Porcelain and Art History

Pieces of Chinese enamelled porcelain that have survived in museums and collections are often viewed as examples of decorative art, and are thus examined in terms of their decorations, styles and their decorative functions. Enamelled porcelains that have survived in China have generally been categorised exclusively as 'imperial wares', and scholars have emphasized their rarity and aesthetic value. The idea that enamelled porcelain was only associated with the Qing court's activities has remained nearly unchanged over the last four decades.[10]

[9] Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

[10] The most recent and comprehensive example of this are from Shi Jingfei, *Riyue guanghua*; Yu Peijin (ed.), *Jincheng xuying*; Liao Baoxiu, *Huali yangca*; others see Cai Hebi, *Qing Gongzhong falangci tezhan* [Special Exhibition of Ch'ing Dynasty Enamelled Porcelains of the Imperial Ateliers] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1992); Hugh Moss, *By Imperial Command: An Introduction to Ch'ing Imperial Painted Enamels* (Hong Kong: Hibiya, 1976).

This approach is exemplified by Hugh Moss's book, *By Imperial Command: An Introduction to Ch'ing Imperial Painted Enamels,* published in 1976. The main purpose of this book was to illustrate the collection of enamelled porcelain in the residence of the emperors of the Ming and Qing dynasties known as the Forbidden City. Subsequent exhibitions and scholarly publications reiterate the idea of 'imperial wares'. The introduction of the catalogue of *Special Exhibition of Ch'ing Dynasty Enamelled Porcelain of the Imperial Ateliers*, an exhibition held at the National Palace Museum in Taipei in 1978 highlights the objects that were recorded in the Imperial Household Department Archives.[11] It has provided valuable information on the Imperial Household Department Archives, but has also served to single out the exclusive association made by scholars with the imperial court. Following a similar framework that associates enamelled porcelain with the emperor and making extensive use of the records of the Imperial Household Department Archives, two other exhibitions were held in the same museum. The *Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Chi'ien-lung Reign* exhibition was held from 2008 to 2010.[12] This two-year exhibition allowed the public to view more than five hundred pieces of enamelled porcelain from the Qianlong period (r.1736-1795). The catalogue of this exhibition was written in both Chinese and English, and provided detailed information about the production, imperial commission and display of enamelled porcelain at the court. This

[11] The Imperial Household Department was an institution of Qing-dynasty China. Its primary purpose was to manage the internal affairs of the Qing imperial family and the activities of the inner palace. See Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2001). In manuscript form, with detailed records of manufacture of works of art from 1723 to 1911, Imperial Household Department Archives is the most important source for the understanding of the imperial management system of imperial workshops, now collected in the First Historical Archives in Beijing.

[12] Along with the exhibition, the National Palace Museum has published a website in Chinese, English and Japanese relating to the exhibition: See http://www.npm.gov.tw/exh97/porcelains/en_overview.html, accessed on 25 April, 2013.

exhibition was launched for the 83rd anniversary of the National Palace Museum,[13] and proved to be so successful that the catalogue was reprinted four times.[14]

In 2012, another exhibition, entitled *A special exhibition of porcelain with painted enamel in Yongzheng period* (r.1723-1735) *of the Qing dynasty* was held between December 2012 and October 2013. This exhibition presented enamelled porcelain only made during the Yongzheng period and the curator Cai Hebi illustrated this enamelled porcelain from the style of decorative patterns, the emperor's taste as well as the rareness of such objects.[15]

These exhibitions shed light on the study of enamelled porcelain of the Qing dynasty, especially in the reign of the three emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong of the eighteenth century. However, none of these exhibitions and their catalogues made mention of the issue of how enamelled porcelain circulated beyond the court. Holding the largest collection of Chinese art, the National Palace Museum, its exhibitions and researchers all played a fundamental role in the study of Chinese art. The exclusive emphasis on the imperial collection, and the neglect of all other consumers of enamelled porcelain therefore resulted in a situation in which the world of connoisseurship and the public's perception on enamelled porcelain are severely

[13] The holdings of the National Palace Museum are composed primarily of the imperial collection of the Qing dynasty. Most of the collection was housed within the imperial city. In 1948, the Chinese Nationalist Party shipped more than 4,000 objects in three groups from Nanjing to Taiwan. In 1965, the collection was finally opened to the public as the National Palace Museum. Now it has nearly 700,000 pieces. For a brief history of its collection, see, Chang Linsheng, 'The National Palace Museum: A History of the collection' in Wen Fong, James C. Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (Taipei & New York: National Palace Museum and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp.3-27.

[14] The National Palace Museum. 'Stunning Decorative Porcelain from the Chi'en lung Reign', http://www.npm.gov.tw/exh97/porcelains/introduction.html, accessed on 25 April, 2013. For the catalogue, see Liao Baoxiu, *Huali yangcai: Qianlong yancai tezhan* [Illustrated Catalogue of Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung reign] (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 2008).

[15] Yu Peiji, *Jincheng xuying;* For the website of this exhibition, see http://www.npm.gov.tw/exh101/yongzheng/, accessed on 25 April 2013.

limited. This seems problematic, as the scholarly and general public associate enamelled porcelain only with the emperors. However, I argue that this is not the whole story. As I go on to demonstrate in my thesis, enamelled porcelain was in fact widely consumed outside the court, and played an important role in eighteenth-century Chinese society.

Western scholars, on the other hand, have mainly examined enamelled porcelain for the export market by using collections from museums or notable private collections in terms of design motifs, forms and aesthetic qualities. From the 1950s, the exported enamelled porcelain of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries received considerable attention. The terms 'Chinese export porcelain' and 'China trade porcelain' were applied in these works. Based on various collections, curators have established a chronological and thematic history of Chinese porcelain made for the Western market of the eighteenth century.[16] In addressing different themes, these catalogues either categorised Chinese export porcelain as blue and white and enamelled porcelain or divided them in terms of their designated markets. Such

[16] Among the considerable scholarship, the most influential works were done by Rose Kerr and Luisa E. Mengoni, *Chinese export ceramics* (London, 2011); D. F. Lunsingh Scheuleer, *Chine de commande* (London, 1974); David S. Howard, *Chinese armorial porcelain*, Volume 1 (London; Faber and Faber 1974); *Chinese armorial porcelain*, Volume 2, (London, 2003); *The Choice of the Private Trader: The Private Market in Chinese Export Porcelain illustrated from the Hodroff Collection* (London, 1994); David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West. Fully illustrated two-volume catalogue of the Mottahedeh Collection of export porcelain and other Chinese decorative arts* (London, New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978); Clare Le Corbeiller, *China trade porcelain: patterns of exchange : additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1974); Geoffrey Arthur Godden, *Oriental export market porcelain and its influence on European wares* (London, New York: Granada Publishing, 1979); Margaret Jourdain and Jenyns Soame, *Chinese export art in the eighteenth century* (Feltham: Spring Books, 1967); For the most recent works, see: William Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics from the Peabody Essex Museum* (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Essex Museum, 2012); Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the 19th Century and Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced during the Qing Dynasty 1644- 1901 (*Paris: Vilo International, 2001); Helen Espir, *European decoration on oriental porcelain, 1700-1830* (London: Jorge Welsh, 2005).

categorisation ignores completely enamelled porcelain and has had different trade patterns in Canton from blue and white.

Among the numerous books on Chinese export porcelain, the most influential are the works written by the leading museums of Chinese porcelain. For example, curators of the Victoria and Albert museum in London, the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof in Leeuwarden and Groningen Museum, Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels have produced classic catalogues which are composed of introductions to collections, discussions of each category of Chinese porcelain and descriptions, as well as images of each object.[17]

The approach to examining objects from the perspective of a specific collection contributes to the study of art history and cultural history in many ways. For instance, the considerable scholarship on surviving pieces of Chinese export porcelain of the eighteenth century provides us with insights into decorative patterns, the history of design and the history of artistic exchange. By focusing on the individual object, this approach is useful in many ways. It provides evidence for studies of cultural exchange between China and Europe. For example, in studies focused on 'Chinoiserie',[18] the design and taste had a significant impact on European designs, not only in porcelain production but also in interior decoration, furniture, architecture, painting, textile and

[17] Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics*; Kerr and Mengoni, *Chinese Export Ceramics;* Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Oriental porcelain in the Netherlands: four museum collections* (Groningen: Groningen Museum, 2003); *Famille Verte: Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels* (Groningen: Groningen Museum, 2011); *Chinese export porcelain: chine de commande from the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1989).

[18] This term derived from the French word Chinois, meaning 'Chinese' is a decorative style in Western art, furniture, and architecture, especially in the eighteenth century, characterized by the use of Chinese motifs and techniques. The best introductions to chinoiserie are Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie; The vision of Cathay* (New York: J. Murray, 1962); Oliver R. Impey, *Chinoiserie: the impact of Oriental styles on Western art and decoration* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977); and Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993).

even garden design are attributed to Chinese export porcelain.[19] Chinese porcelain has also been associated with feminine taste through household consumption in the eighteenth century.[20] Focusing on objects is also useful for cataloguing collections and exhibitions. For example, a recent exhibition entitled *Passion for Porcelain: Masterpieces of Ceramics from the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum*[21] that was held by the National Museum of China in 2013 in total displayed 148 pieces of Chinese porcelain. This was the first time that the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum exhibited their collection in China, and it was the first time that the National Museum of China held an exhibition of Chinese export porcelain.

However, approaching Chinese porcelain only by focusing on the individual pieces that survived in collections and museums fails to situate these objects within a wider context. Consequently, we have little knowledge of how these pieces were made and how and where they were sold.

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[19] Classic studies on chinoiserie can be found from Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,2010); Francesco Morena, *Chinoiserie: the evolution of the Oriental style in Italy from the 14th to the 19th century* (Florence: Centro di, 2009)

[20] For a useful discussion of the associations between tea and femininity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp.19–36; Aubrey J. Toppin, 'The China Trade and some London Chinamen,' *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle,* 3 (1934), pp.44–46; Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014). On contemporary responses to female commerce at the New Exchange, where the retail trade in Chinese export goods was concentrated, see James Turner, 'News from the New Exchange: Commodity, Erotic Fantasy, and the Female Entrepreneur,'in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp.419–435.

[21] This exhibition has two versions of catalogues both in English and Chinese languages, for the English version, see Lu Zhangshen (ed.), *Passion for porcelain: Masterpieces of ceramics from the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Beijing: National Museum of China, 2012).

As I will show in this thesis, from the point of view of production, there were interactions between the main manufacturing sites by exchanging techniques, the raw materials and the craftsmen. From the point of view of consumption, the assumption that 'imperial wares' were exclusively consumed by the court is in fact, untenable. The term 'imperial wares' refers to porcelain that was produced in the 'imperial kiln' and was produced for the court. Special kilns were thus established to produce porcelain specifically for the court, which were named 'imperial kiln'. However, when the order from the court was high and large quantities were demanded, porcelain from other kilns, namely private kilns that produced porcelain for the market,[22] could also be purchased and sent to the court. At the beginning of the establishment of the 'imperial kiln', it was very strict that only the best pieces of porcelain from private kilns could be purchased and sent to the court, but towards the end of sixteenth century, the boundary between the 'imperial kiln' and private kiln was blurring.[23] There is significant evidence to support my claim that some objects we currently view as 'imperial wares' were in fact circulated outside the court.[24]

Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello have made a further contribution to this discussion, urging scholars to reconsider the use and interpretation of things in a wider context of material cultures and their global interactions and connections.[25] I propose in my thesis that it is necessary to approach Chinese porcelain in a more historical

[22] Private kilns produced porcelain for the domestic and export markets. In 1743, the number of private kilns in Jingdezhen was up to 300. For a brief investigation of the number of private kilns during the Qing dynasty, see Christine Moll-Murata, 'Guilds and Apprenticeship in China and Europe: The Jingdezhen and European Ceramics Industries' in Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden (eds.), *Global Economic History Series: Technology, Skills and the Pre-Modern Economy in the East and the West* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2013), pp.229-230.

[23] Kerr and Wood, *Ceramic Technology*, p.188.

[24] Chapter 3 of this thesis will address this issue.

[25] Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds.), *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp.1-29

way, not only by focusing on the object itself but by considering objects in a wider context. We should consider the context of the objects that have survived, who produced them, what techniques have been applied, where they were produced, who consumed them and who sold them. Such questions are certainly important and crucial because the answers can provide us with details about the porcelain trade. In doing so, we can have a better understanding of those objects.

### 1.3.2. Enamelled Porcelain and the Chinese Export Porcelain Trade

Situating the porcelain trade in the context of the East India Companies, art historians and trade historians have demonstrated that Chinese export porcelain was made for various markets.[26] Some of them applied a different approach from curators, mainly using the records of East India Companies, and seeing Chinese porcelain as a

[26] J. A. Lloyd Hyde, Eduardo Malta and Ricardo Espirito Santo Silva, *Chinese porcelain for the European market* (Lisbon: Editions R.E.S.M, 1956); Michele Buerdeley, *Chinese Trade Porcelain* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962); Michel Beurdeley *Porcelain of the East India Companies* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1962); John Goldsmith Phillips, *China Trade Porcelain, An Account of Its Historical Background, Manufacture, and Decoration and a Study of the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956); Geoffrey Arthur Godden, *Oriental export market porcelain and its influence on European wares*; Marie-Florine Bruneau and François Hervouët, *La Porcelaine des Compagnies des Indes à Décor Occidental* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986); Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835*. (2nd edn., Revised, Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1981); Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974); Jorge Getulio Veiga, *Chinese Export Porcelain in Private Brazilian Collections* (London, 1989); Peabody Museum of Salem. *Chinese Export Porcelain in the 19th Century: The Canton Famille Rose Porcelains in the Alma Cleveland Porter Collection*. (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1982); T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company: As Recorded in the Dagh-registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima, and Other Contemporary Papers, 1602-1682* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954); C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982); Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramic;* Jan Wirgin *From China to Europe, Chinese Works of Art from the Period of the East India Companies, East Asian Museum* (Stockholm, 1998).

commodity so as to illustrate its trade history.[27] Apart from the examination of Chinese porcelain that has survived in collections, an important contribution of this group's scholarship is the archival resources they have revealed.

It should be noted that during the eighteenth century, EEIC and the Dutch East India Company (hereafter VOC)[28] were the two leading companies who traded with China, although there were other companies who traded at Canton, such as the Swedish East India Company, the French East India Company and the Danish East India Company. However, comparing studies on the trade of tea and textiles, studies about the porcelain trade relating to these companies are relatively fewer in number. Recently, global historians have explored more comprehensively the trade of tea, textiles and silk of the French East India Company and Swedish East India Company.[29] However, studies on the porcelain trade of French East India Company are only partially known.[30] Michael Beurdeley has contributed substantially to the existing literature on the subject of Chinese export porcelain from several points of view. In his book, *Porcelain of the East India Companies,* Beurdeley provides valuable descriptions of the East India Companies, with a focus on the porcelain markets of each company. In terms of the porcelain trade of the French East India

[27] Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*; Jörg, *The Dutch China Trade*; Mudge, *the American Trade.*

[28] When referring to the Dutch East India Company, the following part of this thesis will use VOC as an abbreviation for Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie.

[29] Felicia Gottmann, *Global Trade, Smuggling and the Making of Economic Liberalism, Asian Textiles in France 1680-1760* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Hanna Hodacs, *Silk and Tea in the North: Scandinavian Trade and the Markets for Asian Goods in 18th Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[30] For the French East India Company trade, Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: le commerce à Canton au XVIIIe siècle, 1719-1833*, 4 vols., (Paris,1964); Donald C. Wellington, *French East India Companies: A Historical Account and Record of Trade* (Lanham: Hamilton, 2006). For the porcelain of the French East India Company, more recent book is the companion catalogue to the exhibition at the Company museum in Lorient in 2002 by Louis Mézin, *Cargoes From China: Porcelain from the Compagnies des Indes in the Musée de Lorient* (Lorient: Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, 2002).

Company, Beurdeley uses porcelain sales catalogues and calculated the total quantity of French porcelain imports in 1731, 1769, 1775 and 1790.[31] According to Beurdeley's account and the sale catalogue, porcelains sold in France were of two main types: blue and white, and coloured ones. Given the nature of the sales catalogue, which provided a clear description, it would be very useful for further research on the porcelain trade to ask how different types of porcelain were treated in different ways. However, Beurdeley did not provide more details about whether there were other source materials of this kind.

Research on the porcelain trade with the Swedish East India Company is also partially known. Christian Koninckx's research is by far the most comprehensive study on the Swedish East India Company's porcelain trade. In the book *The first and second charters of the Swedish East India Company (1731-1756): a contribution to the maritime, economic, and social history of north-western Europe in its relationships with the Far East*,[32] he calculates the number of pieces for the period. In his appendix, Konninckx also lists the number of pieces brought in on every ship. However, he does not specify the details of the porcelain, such as the shape or the decoration. Neither does he specify precisely the location of these records. Since this thesis aims to explore the details of the porcelain trade focusing on how different types of porcelain were traded in different ways, Koninckx's research does not provide valuable information for the required insights.

[31] Michel Beurdeley, *Porcelain of the East India Companies* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1962), pp.102-3.
[32] Christian Koninckx, *The first and second charters of the Swedish East India Company (1731-1756): a contribution to the maritime, economic, and social history of north-western Europe in its relationships with the Far East* (Kortrijk, Belgium: Van Ghemmert Pub. Co., 1980).

Research on the porcelain trade with the Danish East India Company has been conducted by Aa. Raschm and P.P. Sveistrup and Bredo Grandjean.[33] Their researches listed porcelain cargos brought back from Canton in the eighteenth century.[34] Although some accounts were listed in detail, they do not provide a complete record of how porcelain was traded by the Danish East India Company. Hanna Hodacs's research, which used Danish and Swedish East India Companies' archival records, provide a more detailed analysis of the quantities, qualities and colour assortments of Chinese silk brought back to Scandinavia during the eighteenth century. Although Hodacs's research focuses on tea and silk, extensive archival records yield detailed information about porcelain as well.[35]

The book *Chinese export porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835* provides detailed documentation when dealing with historical aspects of the China trade.[36] Mudge has accessed rich sources of material privately owned or in the possession of societies and museums. Geoffrey A. Godden used a similar method but focussed on the porcelain trade with Britain during the eighteenth century.[37] This research has made several contributions to the field, as it not only provides a detailed account of some EEIC's trading records, but also discusses private trade and its associated porcelain pieces. Because of his discussion, we have some information about the

[33] Aa. Raschm and P.P. Sveistrup, *asiatisk kompagni: i den florissante periode, 1772-1792* (Copenhagen, 1948); Bredo Grandjean, *Dansk Ostindisk Porcelæn Importen fra Kanton ca. 1700 – 1822* (Copenhagen, 1964).
[34] For a general introduction of the Danish East India Company trade, see Ole Feldbæk, 'Danish East India Trade 1772-1807', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 26, 2(1978), pp.128-144.
[35] I give special thanks to Hanna Hodacs for her generosity of sharing archival records with me, although because of the time, I could not make use of it in this thesis.
[36] Mudge, *the American Trade*.
[37] Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental export market porcelain and its influence on European wares* (London, New York, 1979). Geoffrey A. Godden was a ceramics specialist collector and dealer; but to the public he was best known for his expert valuations of fine Chinese porcelain on BBC Television's Antiques Roadshow.

enamelled porcelain trade. This research is by far the most comprehensive survey on the porcelain trade of Britain; however, Godden's research does not specify the information that he consulted. For example, he uses auction catalogues of the eighteenth century to demonstrate the value of porcelain in contemporary time, but does not provide detailed references to such sources.[38]

The Dutch statistics for the porcelain trade with China, particularly in the eighteenth century, seem by far the best researched. In considering the research on the study of Chinese export porcelain, the most significant contribution is the work of Christiaan J.A. Jörg. His ground-breaking research on the Dutch porcelain trade as the first comprehensive art-historical survey of Chinese porcelain from the founding of the purchasing to the end of the selling in the eighteenth century based on extensive archival research. Jörg's research covering the period from 1729 to 1796 is detailed. By linking the surviving pieces and textural resources from the Dutch East India Company, Jörg has enriched our knowledge of the porcelain trade between China and the VOC during the eighteenth century. His research also serves as an important source of information on the porcelain trade in the eighteenth century. The detailed narratives in his research of Chinese export porcelain and Supercargoes have facilitated the research of the present day in terms of the Chinese porcelain trade. According to his research, it is possible to determine the purchase price, quantity, type, and pattern of porcelain of the pieces that the Dutch East India Company traded in Canton. The appendix of his book *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* provides my thesis with a valuable source on the VOC porcelain trade, and the combination of the

[38] Godden, *Oriental Export Market*, p.60.

VOC records with the EEIC sources I explore below allow for the discussion of the trade of porcelain at Canton that is central to this thesis to go into more depth.

Historians rely on official records and registers to calculate the volume of commodities on board individual ships.[39] H.B. Morse has listed some of EEIC ships' imports, with the quantity of each commodity. This is certainly valuable for economic historians, in that they can produce a statistical analysis of the trade.[40] They have situated the China craze of the eighteenth century within the context of long-standing patterns of trade between East and West, and pointed to the decisive role for Chinese imports in stimulating many of the innovations in domestic manufacturing and marketing techniques that led, in turn, to the Industrial Revolution.[41] Among this group of scholars, the quantity of imported porcelain and the total amount of silver that was spent on 'China wares' are the main concern. In considering porcelain together with other imported commodities, scholars have discussed how the China trade contributed to the world economy system. The trade and commercial activities of East India Companies proved to be one of the key driving forces in European

[39] Earl H. Pritchard, 'Private Trade between England and China in the Eighteenth-Century (1680-1833)', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1(1957), pp.108-37. H.B. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company in China*, Vol. 5. (Oxford, The Clarendon press, 1926-29); Christian Koninckx made estimates in *The First and Second Charters*, p.267.

[40] For example, Wolfgang Keller, Ben Li, and Carol H. Shiue, 'China's Foreign Trade: Perspectives from the Past 150 Years' *NBER Working Paper No. 16550*, November (2010), pp.1-53, available online at http://www.nber.org/papers/w16550, accesed on 1 July 2016.

[41] See, for example, Jan de Vries, 'Understanding Eurasian Trade in the Era of the Trading Companies' in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East,1600-1800 Trading Eurasia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.7-39. Maxine Berg, 'Manufacturing the Orient: Asian Commodities and European Industry 1500–1800,' in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Prodotti e tecniche d'oltremare nelle economie europee secc. XIII–XVIII* (Prato: Istituto internazionale di storia economica F. Datini, 1998), pp.385–419; Maxine Berg, 'Consumption in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain.' in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.357-387.

economic growth. Chinese porcelain was seen as a luxury commodity that facilitated the consumer revolution in Europe.[42]

The most recent and important contributions to the field are works from the project *Trading Europe's Asian Centuries: Trading Eurasia 1600-1830*. Led by Professor Maxine Berg, three postdoctoral fellows, a research assistant and a PhD student, the project focused on a comparative study of Europe's trade with India and China by drawing on the records of Europe's East India companies. Apart from various workshops, seminars and conference,[43] this project also produced three monographs,[44] one edited book,[45] and a Ph.D. dissertation.[46] This is by far the largest and most comprehensive research project on the examination of the East India Companies, Asian goods and the impact of this trade on Europe. Engaging with the trade of Asia, it addressed the role of Asia's trade in the origins of the Industrial Revolution. As noted in their objectives, researchers also attempted to bring together the study of trade, consumption and production to set different histories alongside economic history.

Another collaborative project with a single focus on the English East India Company, the *East India Company at Home, and 1757-1857: The British Country*

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[42] Recent examples include Robert Batchelor, 'On the Movement of Porcelains: Rethinking the Birth of Consumer Society as Interactions of Exchange Networks, 1600-1750,' in J. Brewer and F. Trentmann (eds.), *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), pp.95-121; Maxine Berg, 'Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution,' in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (London: Palgrave, 2003), pp.228-244.

[43] For a general introduction of this project, please visit the project website, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/ghcc/eac/

[44] Chris Nierstrasz, *Rivalry for Trade in Tea and Textiles The English and Dutch East India Companies (1700-1800)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Gottmann, Global Trade; Hodacs, Silk and Tea in the North.

[45] Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East.*

[46] Meike von Brescius, 'Private Enterprise and the China Trade: British Interlopers and their Informal Networks in Europe 1720-1750' (Ph.D thesis, University of Warwick, 2016).

*House in an Imperial and Global Context* addressed the possibilities of looking at interior decoration in the context of the British Empire.[47] It paid particular attention to materials brought back to Britain and their integration in interior decorations, and aimed to trace how Asian goods changed the domestic interior of eighteenth-century Britain.

Comments made by scholars involved in these two projects so far refer to matters of how Asian goods changed Europe. They both remain silent, however, on the question of the impact of the trade on China. Moreover, and highly significantly for this thesis, throughout research carried out to date, Chinese porcelain was viewed as a type of commodity without any distinction between blue-and-white and enamelled porcelain. Most of this scholarship failed to point out that Chinese porcelain was not simply of one kind; rather, the types ranged from blue and white, white and enamelled porcelain, each of which required different manufacturing skills. Moreover, they failed to recognise that the difference amongst these porcelains led them to different markets and consumers. For example, private traders only bought small amounts of very specific and expensive luxury porcelain of superb quality and complexity. An invoice of a private trade dated Canton, 19 November 1731, about the purchase of porcelain survived. This document records the name of the customer who ordered it, the date and other details of the shipment, as well as the quantity of items shipped and their price. The contents of the order are described as 'China Wares blue-and-white painted with a crest' and it is recorded that there were 100 plates, 6 soup serving dishes, 60 soup plates, 4 sets of bowls, 12 sauceboats and 12 salts totalling some 250 pieces

[47] Funded by the Leverhulme Trust from 2011-2014 and based at the University of Warwick (2011-12) and later University College London (2012-14). For more information of this project, please visit the project website: http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/

and costing 40 taels of silver. The service was commissioned by the Peers family and bears their family crest.[48] It was ordered by Charles Peers, Oxfordshire whose son, also Charles Peers, worked for the English East India Company in Madras (1720-35) and also traded privately. The Peers family also commissioned another larger, more expensive Chinese armorial service in enamels with their full coat of arms, rather than just the crest, as on this service, which was shipped directly to England on 8th January 1732.[49]

Based on surviving EEIC records, this thesis uses a new approach to examine the porcelain trade, focusing on how various types of porcelain played different roles in the trade.

### 1.3.3. Enamelled Porcelain and Global History

Since Robert Finlay's study was first published in 1998,[50] another significant change has taken place in the study of Chinese porcelain. The importance of porcelain is no longer only explored by economic historians and art historians, but by global historians. Chinese porcelain, as a material culture for studies of global connections in the pre-modern and early modern period, has become fashionable.[51] The history of porcelain has proven useful for discussions of the development of a shared global

[48] Howard, *Chinese armorial porcelain*, vol.1, p.174.
[49] Pieces from this service are collected in the British Museum, two soup plates in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, a serving plate in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh and two large serving dishes on loan from J.R. Peers at the Victoria and Albert Museum.
[50] Robert Finlay, 'The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History', *Journal of World History*, 9,2 (1998), pp.141-187. See also his more recent book, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley, 2010).
[51] A brief summary on this subject see Anne Gerritsen and Stephen McDowall, 'Global China: Material Culture and Connections in World History,' *Journal of World History*, 23, 1(2012), pp.3-8.

culture that is thought to have emerged through the trade and exchange of porcelain in different parts of the world.[52]

Porcelain is also viewed as 'luxury good' in the context of global trade, and played a significant role in fostering consumer cultures and stimulating the industrial development. The most significant contribution is the work of Maxine Berg. Berg studied 'Asian goods of the eighteenth century in the context of global trade.[53] At this time, 'Asian goods' were a luxury in Europe and fostered a consumer culture that led to production and invention in Britain. As a result, the imitation of producing certain goods played an important role in industrial development in Britain. Her research serves as an important methodological guide for studies on the global trade and global history, as it bridges the trade with consumption, as well as production in global connections.

By tracing not only the European desire for blue-and-white porcelain, but its appeal to West Asian and Middle Eastern consumers, scholars have argued that this widespread desire for blue-and-white wares created a truly 'global' shared culture. Finlay encourages scholars from multiple disciplines to think about Chinese export porcelain as a global commodity, and as a material culture that played a significant part in connecting different parts of the world between the tenth century and the eighteenth century.

However, any approach that simply reinforces the idea of the global connections of Chinese porcelain, particularly blue-and-white wares in the studies of global consumption is problematic. Firstly, it neglects its place of origin—China. It seems

[52] Anne Gerritsen and Stephen McDowall, 'Material Culture and the other: European Encounters with Chinese Porcelain, *ca.* 1650-1800' *Journal of World History*, 23, 1 (2012), pp.87-113.
[53] Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 182, 1(2004), pp.85-142.

that China is merely the place of manufacture from where porcelain was exported to other parts of the world. We need to investigate how local industry responded to impulses such as increasing interactions along with trade, and the influx of new ideas and new techniques.

More importantly, much research has failed to recognise that the movement of Chinese porcelain is neither linear nor one-dimensional. Chinese porcelain's production and consumption have changed through time and space. As Stacey Pierson pointed out, even in the same location, consumption occurred in different ways.[54] We cannot conclude that China responded to new materials such as cobalt-blue and enamels in the same way, or that the markets all responded to blue-and-white and enamelled porcelain in the same way. Therefore, it is necessary to apply a more contextual and localised approach to studies of Chinese porcelain. As Anne Gerritsen has suggested, it is now time to approach it as part of more all-encompassing material culture studies that examine object, text, and image through space and time.[55]

For example, Ronald W. Fuchs II argues in his 2011 article that current studies on Chinese export porcelain have not paid enough attention to the place of origin of these ceramics; China is merely seen as the place of manufacture of export porcelain to Western markets.[56] Fuchs suggests that the reason why the place of origin itself has been ignored is that the Chinese origin of export porcelain gave the pieces an exotic and romantic lustre, and the collectors of this porcelain want to keep it unknowable and mysterious. This was widely reinforced by scholars, antique dealers, auction

[54] Stacey Pierson, 'The Movement of Chinese Ceramics: Appropriation in Global History' *Journal of World History*, 23, 1 (2012), p14.
[55] Gerritsen and McDowall, 'Global China', p.6.
[56] Ronald W.Fuchs II, 'A Passion for China: Henry Francis du Pont's Collection of Export Porcelain,' in Vimalin Rujivacharakul (ed.) *Collecting China: The World, China and a Short History of Collecting* (Lanham, Maryland: University of Delaware Press, 2011), pp.126-128.

companies, and museums because their interest in export porcelain lay in its perceived beauty and elegance, the role it could play in creating a decorated interior that conveys a sense of classic good taste, and its antiquarian associations with the European and American past.[57]

Admittedly, most of these objects made during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were only consumed and collected by European consumers and they existed only in Western countries. Particular forms were made only for the European market, such as big pitchers, ewers and mugs.[58] However, despite their western shapes and decorations, they also form a part of the history of the material culture of China.[59] In addition, historical evidence consistently appears to prove that objects usually classified as 'export wares' and wares classified as for the 'domestic market' were in fact produced in the same period in Jingdezhen, and some of these were even decorated in the same pattern.[60]

The history of Chinese enamelled porcelain has not been sufficiently historicized in present scholarship. Present scholarship assumes a fixed identity for enamelled porcelain, either as 'imperial wares' or 'export wares'. Within the study of enamelled porcelain as 'imperial wares', scholars believe this type of porcelain was only commissioned and used by the court, while consumption outside of court circles was

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[57] Ibid.

[58] The subject on special forms of Chinese enamelled porcelain for export market is covered by many museum curators and collectors. See Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics.* Rose Kerr and Luisa Mengoni, *Chinese Export Ceramics.*

[59]Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987), p.12.

[60] Tang Hui, 'Rethinking 'Imperial Taste': the Yongzheng Emperor and His Role in Court Enamelled Porcelain Production*'* (Unpublished MA dissertation, The School of Oriental and African Studies, 2012); Guo Guanyou, 'Kangyongqian Sanchao Falangcai Huawen Yanjiu' [The Study of the Floral Patterns of the Enamelled Porcelain in the Imperial Kiln by the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong Reigns] (MA dissertation, Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University, History of Art, 2010). pp.80-90.

largely ignored. On the other hand, scholarship on the study of global connections of Chinese porcelain and its role in world history often sees Chinese porcelain as an assemblage of commodities produced by China and makes no distinctions between different types of Chinese porcelain, which in reality are characterised by very different materials, technologies, producers and consumers. However, current scholarship has ignored the fact that by applying different materials and techniques, the product will be different, and so will the consumers.[61] Additionally, we cannot conclude that China responded to new materials such as cobalt-blue and enamels in the same way or that the markets responded to blue-and-white and enamelled porcelain in the same way. Moreover, by reinforcing the idea of a global connection of Chinese porcelain, the original place of porcelain — China — was neglected. China was not isolated; rather, it actively developed new materials and technologies for the porcelain production as well as responding to the markets.

## 1.4. Sources

This research is based on various primary resources including historical records, and contemporary visual materials. In the next section, I will explain the primary sources I have used for this thesis.

[61] The most recent one is Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art*.

### 1.4.1. Imperial Workshops Archives

In order to examine the transmission of enamel technology from the court to the sites of local manufacture, the archival records of the Imperial Household Department will be used. The Imperial Household Department, an institution of Qing-dynasty China, and was established in the 1620s.[62] It was the first time in Chinese history that a household department was established. Its primary purpose was to manage the internal affairs of the Qing imperial family and the activities of the inner palace.[63] It managed the everyday affairs of the court and palace. The most important records that are familiar to art historians of the Qing dynasty are those for the imperial palace workshops.

[62] Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2001), p.180.
[63] Torbert Preston M.,*The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department-A study of Its Organization and Principle Functions, 1662-1796* (Harvard University Press, 1977).

Figure 1-1 Photos of the Imperial Archives of the Imperial Household Department.
Left: A Photocopied version of the Imperial Workshops Archives.
Right: The Original Imperial Archives of the Imperial Household Department.
Source: Left: SOAS Library. Photo by author, 10 July 2011.
Right: Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan and Xianggao zhongwen daxue wenwuguan (ed.), *Qinggong neiwufu zaobanchu dangan zonghui* [The Imperial Workshops Archives of the Imperial Household Department] (Beijing, 2005), vol.1, p.3.

The Imperial Workshops Archives of the Imperial Household Department constitute an original document that enables us to understand the world of court artistic production with a level of detail that is impossible for any earlier dynasty. Most activity involving imperial enamelled porcelain can be found chronicled in the records. In addition, this archive contains information on the records of local porcelain production centres in Jingdezhen and Canton, which provides an essential clue to investigate the interconnections between the court and the local centres.

In 2005, the First Historical Archives and the Chinese University of Hong Kong published the *Qinggong neiwufu zaobanchu dang'an zonghui* [The Archives of Imperial Workshops of the Imperial Household Department].[64] (Figure 1-1) In

[64] In the following citations, when referring this publication, I use the abbreviated title *The Imperial Workshops Archives*.

manuscript form and with detailed records of manufacture of works of art from 1723 to 1911, this archive is the most important text for understanding the management system of imperial workshops, now collected in the First Historical Archives in Beijing.

### 1.4.2. The English East India Company Canton Factory Records

In any study of the EEIC's commercial links with China, the best source materials are provided by the Company's own documents, which are located in the India Office Records (hereafter IOR) in the British library. Up to 1680, the EEIC trade with China was conducted by country ships[65] freighted by the Company's factory at Bantam, but it was then decided to employ ships freighted direct from England. By 1715, ships were dispatched to Canton yearly, with a supercargo appointed to each ship. From 1721, the EEIC's records of its trade in South China began to be written with diaries and consultations of the supercargoes of the individual ships for each trade season, in manuscript form, in which they recorded details of sales and purchases and negotiations with merchants and officials for the information of the Court of Directors in London. These Diary and Consultation Books or Factory Records are available for consultation in the Asian and African Reading Room at the British Library.

The Factory Records of EEIC at Canton were categorised into three sections within the British Library: first, Factory Records: China and Japan which is also called

[65] The 'country ship' was a privately-owned merchant vessel that operated under special restrictions. Under licence from the East India Company, they traded along the Indian and Maylay coasts to Sumatra, the Eastern Islands and to China and later to Botany Bay, to the Persian Gulf, the red sea. For studies of 'Country ships', Anne Bulley has done very detailed research, Anne Bulley, *The Bombay Country Ships 1790-1833* (London and New York: Curzon, 2000).

IOR/G/12 series; second, Records of English East India Company at Canton which is called IOR/R/10 series; third, General Correspondence, IOR/E series. This series of Company correspondence brought together here is general, in the sense that each volume of the records comprises letters relating to all kinds of subjects in chronological sequence. In total, the 50 volumes of Factory Records about Canton provide this research with the best primary resources. Although some volumes were badly written, these volumes of manuscripts provide continuous records of the porcelain trade between China and the EEIC in Canton in the eighteenth century.[66] Materials from IOR/G/12/22 to IOR/G/12/57 were Canton diaries and consultation between 1721 and 1753, 35 volumes. Materials from IOR/G/12/58 to IOR/G/12/60 cover the period from 1775 to 1780, 3 volumes. Materials of the IOR/R/10 series to some extent duplicate the much large body of similar material in the IOR/G/12 series, but some of the Diary and Consultation Books and Letter Books fill the gap between 1754 and 1774 in the IOR/G/12 series. IOR/R/10/3 to IOR/R/10/5, 3 volumes of materials cover the period from 1754 to 1780.

The Factory Records, especially the IOR/G/12 series, are some of the most interesting and important resources of the EEIC, detailing as they do the trade in the East, especially where they have written down the EEIC's trading activities at the port city Canton. They produced one volume, and sometimes two volumes of each trading season. The Factory Records Book was updated on a daily basis from the point of departure from Britain, ending with the departure from Canton. According to its contents, 'Canton Factory Records', for each year, could be divided into three parts.

[66] For example, the volume IOR/G/12/29 (year 1729-1730) was badly written and only tea business was recorded in detail. IOR/G/12/34 (1732-33) has mentioned little about the details of the 'China ware' they purchased. IOR/G/12/52 (1745-1747) mentioned little of the trade in Canton.

The first part covers political activities involving the Chinese local government, the measurements of the ship and negotiations regarding the policy of trade issued by the Chinese government in Canton. This part of the records has been used by scholars to illustrate the history of the Sino-Anglo trade, as well as the relationship between China and Britain.[67] The second part is letters and registers of trade; for example, by the end of the trading season, they would produce a register of goods they have ordered and bought for the year. This contained the quantity of goods of each individual ship, as well as the quantity of goods used in private trade.

The third part is about the trading activities at Canton, including renting the warehouse, buying, packing and shipping commodities, mainly 'China wares', tea and silk, as well as gold. An example is shown in Figure 1-2. This section takes the biggest part of the 'Factory Records'. After all, the most important thing for the Company was to buy and bring sufficient quantities of commodities home. The EEIC officer would need to investigate the market after their arrival before they buy any goods. For example, they need to know the price of porcelain, and the available quantity of porcelain in the market. All of their activities have been written down in detail in the 'Factory Records'. When the EEIC officer and Chinese dealer agreed on a deal with the Chinese dealer, a contract would be produced.

They have also noted down the packing activities, where commodities were packed and by whom. When the goods were ready to ship, they would send boats and ship all the packed goods by assigned officers. Seeing how porcelain trade was operated, which dealers were involved and how much a single piece of a tea cup was provides enormous detailed information regarding trade. However, these activities

[67] For example, see Rogério Miguel Puga, *The British Presence in Macau, 1635-1793* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

were noted in every diary transaction, and have not been explored. In contrast to other scholars, my research uses these activities to illustrate the trade of enamelled porcelain.

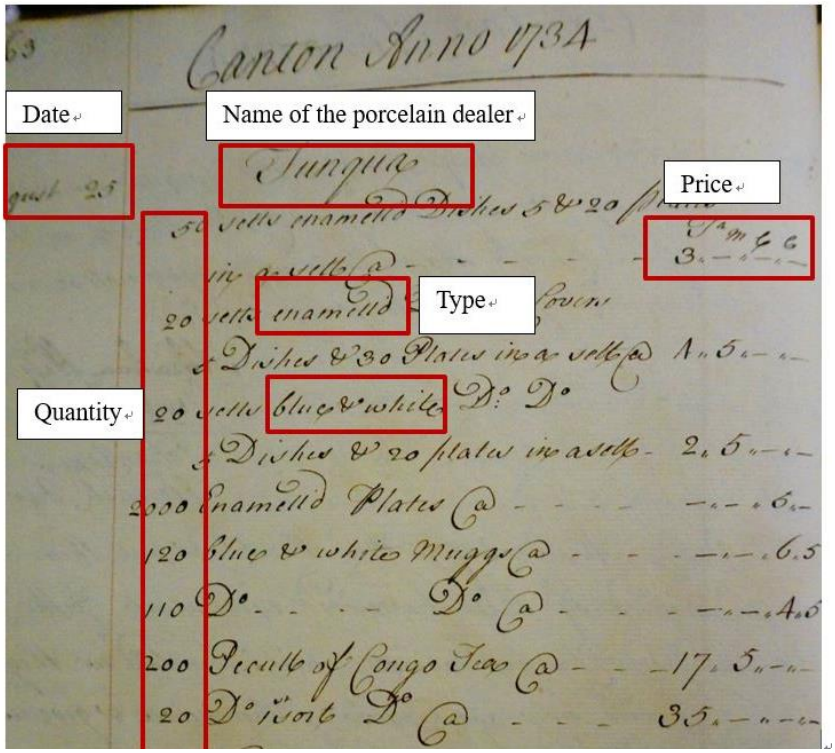


Figure 1-2 A contract of porcelain between dealer Tunqua and the EEIC at Canton.
The date is 25 August, 1734, and it shows details of the type of porcelain, the quantity as well as the prices.
Source: IOR/G/12/36, 25 August, 1734. British Library.

Figure 1-2 is an example of a porcelain contract on 25 August 1734 between Canton porcelain dealers and the EEIC.[68] As is shown, the contracts usually have information including the porcelain dealer, the date, the quantity of porcelain of each type, types of porcelain, and shapes of porcelain, price per piece or per set. This provides crucial and detailed information that allows us to study Chinese export

[68] In this thesis, I reference the India Office Records by giving the precise date, for example, I use IOR/G/12/36, 25 August, 1734.

porcelain in a new way. With these contracts, it is possible to tell more about how the porcelain trade operated. With this information, I am able to demonstrate the difference between blue and white, enamelled porcelain in price, in their imported quantities as well as their dealers. It shows us that different types of porcelain were sold at different prices. More importantly, it shows the EEIC recognised the difference of blue and white and enamelled porcelain, suggesting they had choices of purchasing particular types of porcelain. This is an important fact that current scholarship has ignored.

However, existing scholarship on Chinese export porcelain trade has, to date, paid little attention to this information. Existing scholarship has used Factory Records on the studies of the EEIC trade and the impact of trade, private trade, Canton merchants,[69] as well as the analysis of export goods.[70] The most read and influential text based on EEIC records is by Hosea Ballou Morse.[71] Morse was an American

[69] For studies on the impact of the trade, see S. A. M. Adshead, *Material Culture in Europe and China, 1400-1800: The Rise of Consumerism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).Maxine Berg, 'Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution' in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.)., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002). Studies on private trade see Earl H. Pritchard, 'Private Trade between England and China in the Eighteenth-Century (1680-1833)' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1:1 (1957), pp.108-37. Meike von Brescius, 'Worlds Apart? Merchants, Mariners, and the Organizations of the Private Trade in Chinese Export Wares in Eighteenth-Century Europe' in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East, 1600-1800 Trading Eurasia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.168-182. By far the most comprehensive studies on Canton merchants have been done by Paul A. Van Dyke, *Canton Trade: Life & Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*(Hong Kong,2005); *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Kyoto: Hong Kong University Press, 2011); Weng Eang Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-western Trade, 1684-1798.* (Curzon,1995). Chen Guodong, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843* (Monograph Series, No.45, Taipei: The Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1990).

[70] The most recent example is from Maxine Berg's project 'Europe's Asian Centuries: Trading Eurasia 1600-1830'. The project from UCL 'East India Company at Home 1757-1857', see http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/ghcc/research/eicah/about/.

[71] H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834*, 5 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926).

who served in the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service from 1874 to 1908.[72] During his time in China, he was appointed as a trusted adviser of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, and served in various official capacities.[73] After his retirement, he took an active part as a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and was also on the committee of the China Association.[74] Since 1908, he started to publish research on Chinese maritime relations, most prominently *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, a three-volume chronicle of the relations of the Qing dynasty with Western countries,[75] and *The Chronicles of the East India Company: Trading to China 1635-1834.*[76] The five volumes of the *East India Company* became Morse's most enduring work. Taking advantage of his knowledge of Chinese institutional practices and the British commercial methods, he illustrated a trade history of the British East India Company at Canton by summarising the record of the India Office Library.[77] He shows the documents and summaries of events of the British East India Company's Canton trade, which he himself stated in the preface: 'from these records every fact has been extracted which could be economic value to the student of the commercial history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.' These five volumes on Sino-Anglo trade form the first

[72] The Chinese Maritime Customs Service was an international, although predominantly British-staffed bureaucracy under the control of successive Chinese central governments from its founding in 1854, until January 1950 when the last foreign Inspector-General resigned.
[73] For of Morse's service in China, see John King Fairbank, Martha Henderson Coolidge, Richard J. Smith, *H. B. Morse, Customs Commissioner and Historian of China* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), pp.38-145.
[74] Ibid, pp.58-59.
[75] H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire: the Period of Conflict, 1834-1860*, vol.1. 1910; H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, The period of submission, 1861-1893*, vol.2,1918; and H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire The period of subjection, 1894-1911*, 1918.
[76] Morse, *The Chronicles.*
[77] India Office Library, are now administered as part of the Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections of the British Library.

comprehensive account of the activities of the EEIC in China, and in many ways provide insights into EEIC trade, and remain influential even today. Many studies of institutions, policies, shipping and trade history are still to be drawn from Morse's studies.[78]

In 1937, a Chinese historian, Liang Jiabing 梁嘉彬, enlarged Morse's studies by combining Chinese records, and produced a profoundly influential book on Chinese Hong merchants entitled *History of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton* (Guangdong shisanhang kao, 广东十三行考).[79] From then on, Liang's book became the main source of Chinese export trade with foreign countries. It was not until the 1980s that studies on China maritime trade from Chinese scholars' increased. In 1985, the Chinese Maritime Trade Research Centre was established in Xiamen, which founded the *Journal of Chinese Maritime History*.[80] Most studies focused on the political relations with foreign countries.[81] It was not until the 1990s, along with the publication of Morse's five volume studies on East India Company being translated in Chinese, that research from Chinese scholars became more diverse in the subject matters.

[78] For example, K. N. Chaudhuri used Morse's studies to analyse the institutional structures of VOC and the EEIC and argues that the eventual creation of a factory system is the result of the creation of machinery for physical operations of trade. Alongside the bureaucratization and other factors, these led to the long term success of the East India Company. K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company: 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 1978).
[79] Liang Jiabing was a descendant of Hong merchant. *Guangdong shisanhang kao* [History of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton] (Shanghai, Guoli Bianyi Guan, 1937).
[80] Jiansheng, 'Jianguo liushinian lai zhongguo jindai jingjishi xueke yu yanjian' [The historiography of studies on Chinese trade history from 1949] *Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiu*[Journal of Chinese Economic History], 4(2009), pp.158-163.
[81] Ibid, p.159.

In 1991, Morse's book was translated into Chinese.[82] The influence of this work is evident. It gives access to Chinese scholars to explore matters relating to trade and the East India Company. Together with Morse's books, they serve as the best resources for Chinese scholars who work on Sino-Anglo trade. Moreover, they provide textual evidence for discussions of the Qing economy. Based on their research and data on imports and exports of commodities such as tea, cotton as well as spices, Chinese scholars have conducted a considerable amount of research on trade and its impact on Qing China.[83]

However, Morse's studies rely on a small selection of resources and neglected information about the trading activities of each type of commodity. For example, he did not include the information that Figure 1-2 shows. He only used the summarised information of the total quantities of each commodity. Therefore, scholars who have used his work as their primary resource naturally focus mostly on political negotiations and on changes in trading policies, as well as the quantities of goods exported.

In addition, Morse relies mostly on the second part of the records, as mentioned before, in which porcelain trade is only recorded with total export numbers, The usage of 'China wares' is useful and makes it easier to analyse how Chinese porcelain, in general, had an economic impact on Europe, as economic historians have shown; however, it neglected a very important fact, namely that 'China ware' was not a single

[82] Hosea Ballou Morse, *Dongyindu gongsi dui hua maoyi biannian 1635-1834* [The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834] in Chinese, translated by Zhongguo haiguanshi yanjiu zhongxin, Qu Zonghua, (Guangzhou: Sun Yat-Sen University Press, 1991).
[83] Mtsuura Akira, 'The Trade between Canton and Asian-based Companies of European and American Countries in the 18th Century', *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* [Maritime History Studies], 2(2011); Ji Xianlin, ' Zhetang zai mingqing duiwai maoyi zhong de diwei' [The Role of Cane Sugar in Foreign Trade at the End of the Ming and the Early Period of the Qing Dynasties: Reading Notes of the Annals of East India Company's Trade with China] *Peking daxue xuebao Shehui kexue ban* [Journal of Peking University Humanities and Social Sciences], 1(1995), pp.20-25.

type of Chinese porcelain, but included a variety of types, such as enamelled wares, blue and white, blanc de chine, and Chinese Imari. Consequently, scholars who have used Morse's studies have neglected this fact as well.

In my research, I investigate the 'contracts' as shown in Figure 1-2. I collect these contracts of the EEIC from 1729 to 1774 in the EEIC records, and use them chronologically to illustrate porcelain trade of different historical contexts (Appendix A). The original descriptions of the detailed contracts were barely studied, and remain unexplored. The information provided from lists is sometimes misleading, and a limit for analysing porcelain trade, because no descriptions of porcelain have been written down in these lists, but only the total number of chests. In addition, in the contracts, contracted porcelains were clearly categorised as 'enamelled' or 'blue and white'. Information of this kind can give us an idea of detail beyond mere quantities, and provide useful evidence for discussion on enamelled porcelain trade.

### 1.4.3. Textual Records on Porcelain Manufacture

In order to demonstrate the technological innovation of production in the eighteenth century, information about porcelain production will also be used in my research. For many centuries, Jingdezhen was the main porcelain manufacturer for domestic and export markets. From the eighteenth century onwards, texts and images on Jingdezhen porcelain production increased and were widely circulated in China,[84] such as

[84] Ellen Huang in her Ph.D thesis demonstrates that texts and visual images on Jingdezhen porcelain production has been widely circulated inside and outside China during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ellen Huang, 'China's China: Jingdezhen Porcelain and the Production of Art in the Nineteenth Century', (University of California, 2008), pp.80-141.

*Illustration of porcelain production* (Taoye tuce, 陶冶图册, published in 1743), *The book of porcelain* (Tao Shuo ,陶说, published 1774), *Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics* (Jingdezhen taolu, 景德镇陶录, published 1815).

*Illustration of porcelain production* is an album of porcelain manufacturing commissioned by the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-1795) in 1738. It was finished in 1743 and comprised twenty pictures painted by court painters and accompanied by Tang Ying's 唐英 (1682-1756) text.[85] The text for the descriptions of the twenty pictures, written by Tang Ying has provided a concise, accurate account not only of the procedures involved in making the porcelain but also the meticulous division of labour, the set-up of the potteries in Jingdezhen and the various technical details. Hence these descriptions have been widely published and have become the most important technical treatise on porcelain making since the eighteenth century. Later it was reproduced in *The book of porcelain*, *Gazetteer of Fuliang* (Fuliang xianzhi, 浮梁县志, published in 1822)[86] and Gazetteer of Jiangxi Province (Jiangxi Tongzhi, 江西通志, published in 1880).

*The book of porcelain* was first published in 1774.[87] It was written by Zhu Yan 朱琰, a literati who was an official secretary to Grand Palace Coordinator Wu of Jiangxi province. This monograph contains a short study of Qing porcelain, but

[85] The significance of this album has been discussed by Yu Peijin, 'Taoye tuce suojian Qianlong huangdi de lixiang guanyao' [The Emperor Qianlong's Ideal Imperial Kiln as Seen in the Illustrated Album of Ceramics Making], *Gugong xueshu jikan* [Research Quarterly of the National Palace Museum], 30, 3 (2013), pp.185-220.

[86] Fuliang is a county in the province of Jiangxi which was the main porcelain manufacturer in Jingdezhen.

[87] For the most recent one, see Zhu Yan, *Tao Shuo* [The book of porcelain] (Explanatory from Du Bin) (Jinan, 2010). In the following of this thesis, otherwise noted, I refer this source by using this edition.

concentrated mostly on the ceramics of the Ming and earlier dynasties.[88] Zhu Yan, the author, travelled and observed the production at Jingdezhen, and thus his monograph on porcelain was based on first-hand observations.

*Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics* was first published in 1815, originally written by Lan Pu 蓝浦 and translated into French and English in the mid-nineteenth century and twentieth centuries respectively.[89] This thesis will consult both the original texts and the translation.[90] Western literature, such as the monographs written by Bushell, is also useful for this research.[91]

The available historical records on porcelain manufacturing in Canton are relatively scarce, and more scattered than those of Jingdezhen. Accordingly, this research will draw on other historical documentation such as travel diaries[92] and Chinese export paintings. I will introduce visual sources in the following section.

Most of the primary sources used in this research are available in the digital database from School of Oriental and African Studies' library, SOAS, University of London. By consultation of textual records of Jingdezhen porcelain production, I am able to demonstrate the processes of enamelled porcelain production, which provide this thesis background information of eighteenth century Jingdezhen.

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[88] In the 1890s, Stephen W. Bushell completed a translation of the *Tao Shuo*, which was published in 1910 under the title of *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* (London, 1910).

[89] The translation of French was produced by Julien Stanislas, *Histoire et Fabrication de la Porcelaine Chinoise* (Paris, 1856). A full English translation was published by Geoffrey Sayer, *Ching-te-chen taolu* or *The potteries of China* (London, 1951). It has recently been the subject of a chapter of a Ph.D. thesis by Ellen Huang, 'China's China: Jingdezhen Porcelain and the Production of Art in the Nineteenth Century', (University of California, 2008).

[90] For the full text in Chinese records, see Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu* [Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics] (Jinan, 2004).

[91] Stephen, W. Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art* (New York, 1899).

[92] There are diaries both written by Chinese and traders. See Zeng Yandong（1750-1830, *Xiaodoupeng* [Little Bean Shed], (Jinan, 2004). Alfred Spencer, *Memoirs of William Hickey* (London, 1925).

### 1.4.4. Visual Representations

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a series of paintings depicting the manufacture and the trade of Chinese porcelain enjoyed widespread attention through export channels.[93] These paintings were primarily watercolours or drawings in ink on Chinese paper, and were viewed as a type of another 'Chinese export art'.[94] Watercolours were very popular because of their low price and small size; they served in many respects as the postcards of the time. They were generally painted in workshops, and there is some evidence of mass production techniques. In subject matter, there is some overlap with oil paintings, but watercolours of 'daily life' are especially numerous. Such paintings depict store fronts, the production of tea, porcelain and silk (all important export items), different types of individuals, and interior scenes. Scholars have examined the painting techniques, the style and the paper, as well as the colours materials.[95] Until recently, Chinese export paintings have been viewed as visual sources to illustrate Chinese export trade and Chinese port city Canton. Jiang Yinghe 江滢河, Susan Schopp, Lau Fung Ha, Paul A. Van Dyke and

[93] For a brief description of these paintings, see Ellen Huang, 'From the Imperial court to the international art market: Jingdezhen porcelain production as global visual culture' in *Journal of World History*, 23, 1(2012), pp.115-145.

[94] The literature on Chinese export paintings is extensive and written mostly by connoisseurs and museum curators. Carl L. Crossman, *The China Trade*: *Export Paintings, Furniture, Silver & Other Objects* (Princeton: Pyne Press, 1972); Margaret Jourdain and Jenyns R.Soame, *Chinese Export Art in the eighteenth century* (Feltham: Spring Books, 1967); Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London, 1984); Hong Kong Museum of Art, *Late Qing China Trade Paintings* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1982).

[95] For the most recent example, see the project 'Culture and Trade through the Prism of Technical Art History a study of Chinese export paintings' from Nottingham Trent University', the website of this project: http://www4.ntu.ac.uk/apps/research/groups/9/home.aspx/project/144043/overview/culture_and_trade_through_the_prism_of_technical_art_history_-_a_study_of_c. See also, Kate Bailey, 'A note on Prussian blue in nineteenth-century Canton' *Studies in Conservation*, 57, 2(2012), pp.116-121.

Maria Kar-wing Mok, Rosalien van der Poel have made significant contributions.[96] These studies have revealed many new export paintings about Chinese export trade. They have also examined export paintings as visual sources that reveal many aspects of Chinese export trade. For example, van Dyke and Mok demonstrate the geographic changes of shops in Canton.[97] Lau has illustrated the daily life of different types of painters in Canton during the early nineteenth century.[98] Van der Poel, meanwhile, made a further contribution to the dynamic display of Chinese export painting in Dutch museums.[99]

Among the general category of Chinese export painting, there is a group of paintings relating to my research. It is a group of albums that shows the different processes of porcelain manufactures and trade. These paintings were usually painted in albums and the dimensions were usually in a small format. (Appendix C) The small format paintings, such as albums, were believed to be a way to increase market reach.[100] It is also believed such paintings were made to satisfy the curiosity of the Westerners, as souvenirs. Pictures in series illustrating production processes of tea, porcelain and silk were especially popular.[101] Ellen Huang has viewed some export

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[96] Jiang Yinghe, *Qingdai yanghua yu guangzhou kouan* [Western Paintings and Canton port during the Qing period] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007); Susan E. Schopp, 'The French as Architectureal Trendsetters in Canton 1767-1820', *Review of Culture,* International Edition, no.45 (2014), pp.79-87. Lau Fung Ha, 'Kouan wenhua—cong Guangdong de waixiaoyishu tantao jindai zhongxi wenhua de xianghu guanzhao' [Trade Port Culture-to Explore the Mutual Perception between China and the West in Modern Era through Canton's Export Art] (Ph.D. thesis, 2012, The Chinese University of Hong Kong); Paul A. Van Dyke, Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015). Rosalien van der Poel, 'Made for Trade - Made in China. Chinese export paintings in Dutch collections: art and commodity' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Leiden, 2016).

[97] Van Dyke and Mok, *Images of the Canton Factorie,* pp.23-29.

[98] Lau, 'Trade Port Culture', pp.94-103.

[99] Van der Poel, '*Made for Trade*'.

[100] Roberta Wue, *Art Worlds: Artists, Images, and Audiences in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), p.144.

[101] Lam Yip Peter, 'Porcelain Manufacture Illustrations of the Qing Dynasty' *Journal of Guangzhou Museum of Art,* 1(2004), pp.21-49.

paintings on porcelain manufacturers as works of art that could be compared to the porcelain manufacture illustration commissioned by the imperial court and she argues that the circulations of these images demonstrate various interactions among their audiences, the transmission of knowledge, the connection between Jingdezhen and the court, as well as the connection between Jingdezhen porcelain and its global consumers.

While scholars have successfully investigated the manufacture and consumption of these pictures, they remain silent regarding the connection between the trade of these pictures and the trade of enamelled porcelain. According to published research and surviving paintings from collections, dated was from 1730s to the 1830s. This period coincides with the great prosperity of Chinese international trade via the Guangzhou port.

This investigation approach covers studies of material culture and usage of representations. Using images as a type of historical evidence has been encouraged by Peter Burke to historians.[102] In terms of material culture studies, he pointed out that 'the use of image in the process of the reconstruction of the material culture of the past...images are particularly valuable in the reconstruction of the everyday life of ordinary people.'[103] This theory has been widely accepted and used in Canton trade. As mentioned above, export paintings on Canton are used as historical material to provide complementary information to the trade. In order to get a full picture of porcelain trade, it is time to apply this approach to those watercolours.

[102] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the use of Images as Historical Evidence* (London, 2011).
[103] Ibid, p.81.

However, as a type of export art, their painters and their potential audiences were unknown. The question that to what extent these paintings offer reliable evidence is problematic. Scholars have criticized the reliability of those paintings. Peter Lam has examined some of the paintings on porcelain manufacture process and he argued that the part on porcelain producing is not accurate and only was imaged by Chinese painters.[104] But he also mentioned the part on the trade was actually the case.[105] This research is aware of the weakness of this approach and sees them as representation to seek historical information rather than seek historical truth.

Although scant information exists about the artists who painted them, the paintings themselves are complex coded images which are rich in information about porcelain production and porcelain trade of the eighteenth century. If we examine these illustrations carefully, we find that most of the sets have many leaves, ranging from more than a dozen to as many as fifty. They all consist of four sections: firstly, the manufacture process in Jingdezhen, which includes the mining and collecting of raw materials, forming of bodies, painting of under-glaze blue, glazing, firing, second painting of over-glaze enamels, second firing, packing; secondly, trade with merchants in Jingdezhen (presumably Canton merchants); thirdly, the transportation of porcelain from Jingdezhen to Canton; and finally, the sale of goods to foreign traders.

In addition, details of porcelain shops and displayed samples are carefully depicted. Scholars have used genre paintings to examine the commerce in local

[104] LAM Yip Keung Peter, 'Porcelain Manufacture Illustrations of the Qing Dynasty' in *Journal of Guangzhou Museum of Art*, 1 Edition, 2004, pp.21-49.
[105] Ibid.

societies such as Jiangnan and Beijing.[106] Genre paintings depict aspects of everyday life by portraying ordinary people engaged in common activities. The illustrations of porcelain production and trade served a similar role to demonstrate the enamelled porcelain trade. As viewers of these objects in the museum today, we should bear in mind that such objects were never displayed or experienced in isolation, but were always part of a larger context. These paintings, along with the ever-present foreign traders and enamellers, provide clues as to the trading activities and the appearance of enamel workshops. These paintings reveal the actual trading activities, the shop scenes and the production of enamelled porcelain.

Besides these written and visual resources, surviving enamelled porcelain objects will also be included in the discussion. These are the collections of the British Museum, the National Palace Museum in Taipei, the Palace Museum in Beijing, Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, will also be consulted.

I will also draw on my previous research. My MA dissertation entitled ‘Rethinking 'Imperial Taste': the Yongzheng Emperor and His Role in Court Enamelled Porcelain Production’ in History of Art at SOAS mainly focused on the imperial production of enamelled porcelain between 1723 and 1735. This allowed me to become familiar with most of the primary resources mentioned above. It also established a proper contextual framework for the manufacture of Qing imperial enamelled porcelain that can be used as reference material for this research.

[106] For example, see Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu, ‘Merchant Patronage of the Eighteenth century Yangzhou Painting’, in Chu-tsing Li (ed.), *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Paintings* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1989), pp.215-21; *A brush of pearls: painting for sale in the eighteenth century Yangzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

## 1.5. Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 introduces the research context of the thesis, the main primary sources consulted and the methodology. It examines current studies on Chinese enamelled porcelain from several disciplines and yields a new approach to exploring Chinese enamelled porcelain within its context of production and trade, both in China and beyond. An in-depth look at scholarship reveals the current state of the field in the historiography of enamelled porcelain.

Chapter 2 discusses enamelled porcelain as a site of technology transfer. It aims to explore how enamels and enamelling techniques have been transmitted from Imperial Workshops to local porcelain production site; the production of enamelled porcelain in eighteenth-century China experienced both inventions and innovations. More importantly, the history of enamelled porcelain production was not only linear, but involved complex interactions among different sites of production as they developed over time. This chapter will explore interactions, with particular attention as to how and in what way the manufacturers were linked.

Chapter 3 explores the internal trade and circulation of enamelled porcelain within eighteenth-century China. It questions the assumption that enamelled porcelain was consumed exclusively in the court, an assumption that has previously gone unexamined. From the seventeenth century onwards, the growth of a merchant economy, social and political stability, coupled with increasing leisure time in China, all encourage domestic demand for luxury objects. This chapter aims to demonstrate the consumption of enamelled porcelain in China. It focuses on the domestic responses to enamelled porcelain in the eighteenth century. It further highlights the

consumption beyond the court, and addresses the change of taste at different levels of Chinese society during this period.

Chapter 4 discusses the porcelain trade at Canton between 1729 and 1740. It begins by introducing the EEIC's porcelain trade with China with a focus on enamelled porcelain trade. It situates a historical period that only Jingdezhen was capable of producing enamelled porcelain in large numbers. It views enamelled porcelain as a new type of porcelain product and examines its role in the porcelain trade. This chapter argues that enamelled porcelain as a new product in the export market emerges as a niche product, traded by a large number of very small dealers. It argues that, during this period, the trade of enamelled porcelain brought about opportunities for small dealers to participate in trade.

Chapter 5 examines the trade in enamelled porcelain between 1740 and 1760. This chapter has shown two different trade patterns of Chinese porcelain at Canton. It demonstrates that porcelain markets in Canton of this period were inconsistent, in that enamelled porcelain trade was in steady growth while blue and white porcelain trade fluctuated. More importantly, it raises the question of whether Canton was capable of producing enamelled porcelain in large quantities during this period. By drawing attention to Chinese textual records and the data from the EEIC, this research demonstrated that it was not until the late 1750s that Canton started to produce enamelled porcelain of a large scale.

Chapter 6 focuses on a crucial period of Canton trade, and aims to show the important factors that have stimulated the trade and the production of enamelled porcelain. It analyses the historical context of the trade during this period 1755 to 1760, and argues that key events related to the trade occurred in Canton in 1755, 1757

and 1760 resulted in a new situation for the porcelain trade which boosted the trade of the later period and also promoted the shift of production from Jingdezhen to Canton.

Chapter 7 sheds light on studies of Chinese porcelain shops. It draws attention to Chinese paintings on porcelain shops, and aims to illustrate the development of porcelain shops in the eighteenth century. It applies the theory of networks to illustrate the roles of porcelain dealers in the trade, which brings a different perspective to studies of the Chinese export porcelain trade.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis and raises issues for future research.

# CHAPTER 2. The Production of Enamelled Porcelain and Knowledge Transfer

## 2.1. Introduction

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, new enamel colours and decorative techniques were introduced into porcelain production methods in China, which led to an overall technological innovation in Chinese porcelain production. Three new over-glaze enamel colours were introduced to porcelain production: translucent ruby enamel, opaque white and opaque yellow. The ruby enamel was coloured with colloidal gold. Opaque white derived from fine crystals of lead arsenate that formed in the enamel glazes, while opaque yellow exploited lead stannate. Within a short period of time from 1720 to 1728, the production scale expanded from a series of small workshops into massive production; moreover, the location of manufacture was moved from Beijing to Jingdezhen and Canton.

Enamelled porcelains are well known by curators, collectors and Chinese art dealers, but are rarely considered as a manufactured product that can illuminate aspects of how manufacturers in different locations interact with each other. Instead, studies on the history of Chinese porcelain have drawn attention to technological innovation, and have paid most of their attention to aspects of the aesthetic tastes of

the emperors and the stylistic changes of enamelled porcelains.[1] This so-called 'curatorial approach'[2] is a primary way in which Chinese enamelled porcelain has been studied; however, many questions remain unanswered, such as why and how enamelled porcelain could become the dominant type of Chinese porcelain in a very short time.

I will examine the production of enamelled porcelain during the eighteenth century, with a focus on how local manufacturers interacted. As will be seen, the production of enamelled porcelain in eighteenth-century China experienced both inventions and innovations. More important, as I will show, the history of enamelled porcelain production was not only a linear one, but one involving complex interactions among different sites of production as they develop over time.

## 2.2. Over-glaze Porcelain Production Prior to the Eighteenth Century

One might consider the value of porcelain in eighteenth-century China from a perspective associated with techniques and decorations: that is, that there were two main types of porcelain, underglaze porcelain and over-glaze porcelain.[3] In essence,

[1] Yu Peijin (ed.), *Jincheng yingyu qing yongzheng falangcai ci tezhan* [A special exhibition of porcelain with painted enamels of Yongzheng period in the Qing dynasty] (Taipei: National Place Museum, 2012), pp.280-298. Evelyn Rawski and Jessica Rawson (eds.), *China: The Three Emperors, 1662-1795* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005); Cai Hebi, *Qing Gongzhong falangci tezhan* [Special exhibition of Qing dynasty enamelled porcelains of imperial ateliers] (Taibei: Guo li gu gong bo wu yuan, 1992).

[2] In 1986, Munley specified the related responsibility of being a curator, namely that the curator provides the scholarly expertise based on knowledge of the collection. Collection-based museums thus developed their research by examining their collections, as so called 'curatorial approach'. Mary Ellen Munley, *Catalysts for change: The Kellogg Projects in museum education* (Washington, DC: The Kellogg Projects in Museum Education, 1986), p.31.

[3] There is another group of porcelain, which is decorated with no pigment painting but only glaze, called monochromes. Because this research explores the role of enamels on the decoration of Chinese porcelain, it will only focus on over-glazed decorated porcelain.

the term 'under-glaze' means that the decorative pattern is made on the raw clay body surface, which is then covered with a clear glaze, and subsequently fired at a high temperature in one session, a process which requires the pigment to withstand high temperatures in the kiln, and turn into an effective, colourful glaze. Iron, cobalt and copper are among the main ingredients that can withstand such high temperatures.[4] It should be mentioned that underglaze porcelain only requires one firing. In contrast, with under-glazed decoration, over-glaze porcelain has been decorated with decorations over the glaze, as the name states. This technique creates more colours than under-glaze painting; it involves the use of several colours on the top of the glaze. Porcelain with over-glaze decorations requires at least two firings, because the first firing was at a high temperature for the initial glaze and the second firing was at a much lower temperature for the over-glaze enamels.

The technique of applying enamels over the glaze can be dated back to the thirteenth century in northern China. Some small stoneware dishes have been found in the Cizhou kilns, Hebei province, northern China, decorated with green and red, yellow enamels, all fired at lower temperatures.[5] Despite the decorative potential of the technique, only a few of these early examples of good quality have been found.[6] By the end of the fifteenth century, Jingdezhen potters were able to use six enamel colours: red, yellow, green, turquoise, aubergine, and black. The combined use of the full range of over-glaze enamels effects led to a new style, known as *wucai* (五彩,

[4] For a general introduction of Chinese under-glaze porcelain, see Margaret Medley, *The Chinese Potter: A Practical History of Chinese Ceramics* (third edition, Oxford: Phaidon, 1989), pp.176-191.
[5] For an analyses of Cizhou over-glaze enamels, see Nigel Wood, *Chinese Glazes: Their Origins, Chemistry and Recreation* (A&C Black: London, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1999), pp.230-235.
[6] Ibid.

five colours). From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, over-glaze enamelling had become a highly popular style, and it began to be produced in prodigious quantities.[7]

It should be note here that from the sixteenth century, the output of general domestic and export quality wares rose in response to the increase in local markets and the foreign trade. The latter was operated mainly through the east and southeast coast ports in Zhejiang and Fujian. At the moment, the flow of silver into China rose to unprecedented heights, and the export trade in porcelain expanded rapidly.[8] The expansion of the trade, especially with Japan, had a particular beneficial effect on the production of porcelain in Jingdezhen. Several innovations occurred in relation to Japanese markets, new body materials and new shapes and decorations were applied.[9]

The production of Jingdezhen porcelain was destroyed during the civil war (invasion of the Manchu) towards the end of Ming dynasty and again in the 1670s.[10] Dutch traders increasingly turned to Japan for export porcelain supplies.[11] At first, the Dutch orders from Arita were only blue and white, but by the late 1650s coloured wares had been included (Imari, and later Kakiemon), which are of much better quality. Japanese Imari porcelain was made at Arita in Kyushu and the type that was copied in China is characterised by red, dark blue and gold decoration on a white ground.[12] Imari porcelain is named after the port through which it was shipped and

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[7] Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013). pp.8-10.
[8] Sir Michael Butler, Margaret Medley, Stephen Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain from the Bulter Family Collection* (Alexandria, 1990), p.13.
[9] Ibid., p.14.
[10] Sun Hai and Lin Jianxin, (eds.), *Zhong guo kaogu jicheng* [Completed records of archaeological finds], Volume 22 p.994.
[11] T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company: As Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602-1682* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1971), pp.117-177.
[12] Oliver R. Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain: Catalogue of the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2002), p.31.

the term 'Imari' is a loose one which is used in Europe to describe all Japanese enamelled wares except Kakiemon.[13]

By the 1680s, the porcelain production in Jingdezhen was re-organised by the Qing empire. New shapes and new decorations were introduced and it was obvious that its competitor Japan of export markets played a central role. Jingdezhen started to produce imitation of Japanese Imari porcelain which eventually dominated the European market.[14] At this moment, over-glaze enamel porcelain (*famille verte*) tended to dominate in the Kangxi period (r.1644-1722). During the early part of Kangxi's reign in the late seventeenth cenutry, *famille verte* appeared. It is worth noting that despite the explosion of production and trade, close examination of Kangxi enamelled wares shows that enamels technology remained much the same as it was in the fifteenth century.[15]

However, Kangxi *famille verte* is distinguished by the use of a new enamel-overglaze blue enamel. This blue enamel was made from a pulverised blue glass that was also used at the time as a glass enamel on metal. Jingdezhen potters crushed and washed this blue glass (which came originally from Beijing or Canton), and mixed it with gum or fish-glue to make the Kangxi overglaze blue enamel. Père d'Entrecolles puts the introduction of the Jingdezhen overglaze blue at about AD1700 and mentions that is appeared at Jingdezhen at about same time as fired-on gilding.[16] During the Kangxi reign, a new body material which Talc replaced kaolin, which known as 'soft paste'. The talc and porcelain stone mix gave the body still whiter and lighter than the

[13] Ibid., p.31.
[14] Ibid. p.32.
[15] For an analysis of Kangxi over-glaze enamels, see Wood, *Chinese Glazes*, pp.240-241.
[16] Nigel Wood, *Chinese Glazes: Their Origins, Chemistry, and Recreation* (London, 1999), pp.240-241.

kaolin and porcelain stone mix. Traditional underglaze blue was obscured by this new white body. It is suggested that the appearance of blue enamel was a reaction to the loss of underglaze blue that apparently was considered essential as a contrast to other enamel colours.[17] It is also suggested by Jörg, such the application of overglaze enamel was inspired by Japanese export wares or influenced by Japanese ceramic technology which blue enamel was used in Arita.[18] Vainker, on the other hand, suggests the overglaze blue enamel as a deriving from cloisonné technology.[19]

In the late 1720s, other new enamel colours were introduced to the porcelain production, which can be mixed with other pigments to produce new colours, thereby enormously increased the porcelain painters' palette. The introduction of new enamel colours represented a major technological breakthrough and also played significant impact on the porcelain trade. This new technological innovation and its impact to the trade is the focus of this thesis. In the following sections, I will discuss it in details.

## 2.3. Enamelled Porcelain Production of the Eighteenth Century

### 2.3.1. The Enamel Workshop at the Court

During the 1680s, enamelled objects (mainly copper and glass wares) were first introduced to the Qing court. Soon, the Qing court established imperial workshops at the Forbidden City under direct imperial control, and was led by princes and high

[17] C. J. A. Jörg, *Famille Verte: Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels* (Groninger Museum, 2011), p.11; S.J. Vainker, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain from Prehistory to the Present* (London: The British Musuem, 1995), pp.202-203.
[18] Jörg, *Famille Verte*, p.11.
[19] Vainker, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, pp.202-203.

officials. The *falangzuo* (珐琅作, enamel workshop) was established and was sponsored and commissioned to conduct experiments for making new enamel colours and enamelled wares. Not only did they employ opaque enamels, but they created a relief effect by mixing white enamel with other colours. The immediate result was an imperial attempt to recreate and translate the technique on a porcelain surface.

Generally speaking, apart from the body that was intended to be enamelled, three techniques were essential to the production procedure of enamelled porcelain, namely making enamel colours, preparing enamel colours, painting colours on the body (copper, glass and porcelain) and firing the painted pieces. Each procedure required special skills and techniques. As a complex technique, painted enamel was introduced in China during the late 1680s, and the imperial workshops were established; from 1729 onwards Chinese craftsmen already mastered the techniques of making enamel colours, as well as using these enamel colours on porcelain, since both the imperial workshop and the manufacture Jingdezhen have successfully produced their own enamel colours.

Scholars have paid considerable attention to proving how the transmission of techniques occurred at the Qing court. Xu Xiaodong and Shi Jingfei have illustrated that during the Kangxi period (r.1644-1722), enamelled objects were given to the court by European Jesuits and then inspired the emperor to establish a workshop of enamel manufacture.[20] This workshop has been discussed, and Xu and Curtis have

[20] Xu Xiaodong, 'Europe-China-Europe: The Transmission of the Craft of Painted Enamel in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in Maxine Berg (eds.) *Goods from the East 1600-1800 Trading Eurasia* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), pp.92-106. Shi Jingfei, *Riyue guanghua Qinggong hua falang* [Radiant Luminance: the painted enamelware of the Qing Imperial court] (Taipei, 2012), pp.27-42.

proved convincingly that this workshop received support from Jesuits from France and Italy in techniques, painters, as well as the material enamel.[21]

However, we do not know much about the detailed information on how the Imperial Workshop adapted such a technique; neither do we know how enamel colours were made and how enamel colours were used outside the court during eighteenth century China.

Due to the complexity of enamel painting techniques, introducing the manufacture process rather than explaining the innovation first helps to better understand this innovation. In order to demonstrate clearly the innovative way in which enamelled porcelain was produced, I will show the manufacture of porcelain step by step in the following section. Due to the lack of visual sources in the early eighteenth century, it is worth noting that some of the following images relating to enamelled porcelain production are dated slightly later, at around the 1750s, when the innovation had already occurred.

### 2.3.2. Manufacture Process of Porcelain

The two primary ingredients of porcelain are kaolin and baidunzi. Baidunzi, literally white brick, is found in the mountains along the Chang River to the east of Jingdezhen. Kaolin, comes from the earth as natural clay of remarkable fine consistency and white colour; it required no breaking or grinding, and less washing and purifying before it was ready to use.

[21] Xu,'Europe-China-Europe'; Shi, Q*inggong huafalang*;pp.31-32; Emily Curtis, *Glass Exchange Between China and Europe, 1550-1800* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), pp.112-113.

Kaolin was abundant in Jingdezhen, but it became exhausted by the late sixteenth century. From then on, the main supply of kaolin was from the mountains in Qimen 祁门, which adjoin the province of Jiangxi to the East. The main difference between baidunzi and kaolin lay in their molecular composition and in the method of preparation. Containing quartz, baidunzi came from the earth in the form of stone that had to be washed to remove loose dirt, and was then broken by hand or mallet into small lumps or ground by water-driven mills into pulverised stone. In combination, these two materials (baidunzi and kaolin) strengthened each other, with the baidunzi making the mixture more fusible and the kaolin providing greater ease in modelling. The two combined in right proportion with the right amount of water added were worked together by repeated treading, beating or pounding until the clay became a firm mass of a consistency suitable for modelling.

After digging, the kaolin and baidunzi needed to be crushed. Figure 2-1 shows that the workmen use a mountain stream to erect wheels operating crushes to break up the clay into powder and then washed and purified with water.[22] The clay had to be cleared of impurities such as mica crystals or stone fragments, which might cause flaws or cracks in the porcelain. Workman stirred the clay with water in a large pool, so that the impurities sank to the bottom. Buffaloes are shown in Figure 2-2 pounding

[22] Except where otherwise indicated, the following figures of this section are all from Hong Kong Maritime Museum. This set of album depicts Chinese porcelain manufacture and trade. It has 34 leaves of watercolours, dated of the mid-eighteenth century. The museum number of this object is HKMM2012.0101.0010. I thank Mary Ginsberg, curator of Chinese painting at Asia Department in the British Museum, who introduced me to Kenny Yuan, the assistant curator of Hong Kong Maritime Museum of Art，Kenney Yuan for sharing this album of painting. The album painting recently received a donation from Mrs. Susan Chen Hardy. This set was originally sold to a lady by Martyn Gregory, a leading art gallery of Chinese export painting. Kenney Yuan sent me clear photos as well as the catalogue of this album. In 2015, a special exhibition entitled '*Trading China: Paintings of the Porcelain Production Process in the Qing Dynasty'* showcases a series of 34 paintings that document the process of making and trading porcelain.

and treading the powdered clay in a pool of water, to make it into clay paste. This procedure was repeated several times to make sure the clay was purified. After this, clay had to be washed to prepare clay paste. Women would be involved this process (Figure 2-3). The clay was sieved with a fine sieve. It was then passed through a bag made of a double layer of silk. The clay then had to be rinsed and moulded into bricks.

Figure 2-1 Crushing the clay using a wheel.

Figure 2-2 Buffaloes pounding and treading the powdered clay in a pool.

Figure 2-3 Women sieving the clay.

The combination of kaolin and baidunzi was very significant for porcelain production, because the proportion of these two clays determined the quality of the porcelain body. A specific proportion of kaolin and baidunzi was mixed and kneaded with wooden spatulas inside a large paved pit. This process was called ‘making the clay malleable’. Figure 2-4 shows the process of forming clay. Prepared clay was put on the potters’ wheel and all sorts of complex shapes were made by moulding and hand modelling. Such skilled work required years of apprenticeship. Figure 2-4 shows a potter placing the desired amount of body on a wheel and shapes it while the wheel turns.

Figure 2-4 Shaping the body on a wheel, late 18th century.

The shaped clay bodies had to be dried in the open air and would then be polished on a wheeled table. After the clay was prepared, it needed to be decorated and then glazed. From here, there were two separate processes of production depending on the

type of decoration. For under-glaze decoration, such as blue and white, painters needed to paint cobalt blue to the clay body before glazing and high firing. For over-glaze decoration, such as enamelled porcelain, the clay body had to be glazed first. The glaze was prepared by mixing a specific proportion stones such as limestone, calcium carbonate and fern. There were two methods of glazing, immersion and blowing the glaze on through a bamboo tube for even application. (Figure 2-5,Figure 2-6)

Figure 2-5 Glazing the wares.

Figure 2-6 Detail of Figure 2-5.

When the glazing was finished, the wares were placed inside saggars[23] which were piled in the kiln in a particular order to fire, at a temperature about 1200-1400 °C.[24] Saggars were boxes made of rough clay which were used to protect the porcelain from air blasts and fierce flames during the firing. The firing took about three days, and early on the fourth day, the kiln could be opened. The saggars were still hot, so workmen (Figure 2-7) had to wear gloves when removing porcelain pieces. The saggars were depicted in red colour in Figure 2-7, indicating the high temperature of the kiln.

[23] A saggar is a type of kiln furniture. It is ceramic container used in the firing of pottery to protect ware being fired inside a kiln.
[24] Kerr and Wood, *Ceramic Technology*, p.9.

Figure 2-7 Getting porcelain out of the kiln.

After porcelain with decoration was taken out of the kiln and cooled down, enamel colours were then painted on the body, and were fired again at a lower temperature. As section 2 of this chapter shows, the production of enamelled porcelain had already begun in the fourteenth century onwards in Jingdezhen. In the eighteenth century, it was the production of enamelled porcelain that was innovative, as I will demonstrate in the following section.

### 2.3.3. Manufacture Process of Enamelled Porcelain

#### Making Enamel Colours

Enamels are either non-transparent or semi-transparent in appearance. Enamel is a comparatively soft glass, compounds of flint or sand, red lead or potash. The methods of enamelling fall into distinct categories, with each type and subdivisions having visual and technical differences. The main classifications of enamel objects are the inlaid and encrusted methods, the painted enamels and the industrial techniques.[25] Painting enamel on porcelain is a subdivision of painted enamels.

Painting enamel on copper was first known in Europe in fifteenth century Limoges, and in the late seventeenth century, this was transferred to China via Jesuit Missionaries in the Imperial Workshop. It was soon adapted in an innovative way by Chinese porcelain manufacturers, both in the Imperial Workshop and Jingdezhen.[26] Two types of enamel colours were used to produce painted enamels on metal or porcelain body. Preparing enamel colours required special skills and techniques.

Woodrow Carpenter included the following information regarding the enamel colour manufacture of modern enamels:

> Enamels are glass. Like glass enamel is a fusion of silica, soda, lime, and a small amount of borax. Though normally transparent, various amounts of opacity can be produced by adding or growing crystals within the glass

[25] For a general introduction of enamel works, see https://www.britannica.com/art/enamelwork,accessed on 10 June, 2016.

[26] Emily Curtis, Xu Xiaodong and Shi Jingfei's works have proved that painted enamel was transferred by European missionaries in the late 1680s.

> structure. A wide range of colours can be produced in enamels by incorporating certain elements, mostly transition metals.
>
> The most important are the elements of…titanium, vanadium, chromium, manganese, iron, cobalt, nickel and copper…enamels containing these elements become coloured immediately after centration of colourant.
>
> The colour created by the transition elements depends on several factors, including the composition of enamel, the presence of oxidizing or reducing agents, the concentration of the colorant the melting condition etc.[27]

The pigments of metallic materials which have undergone oxidation will need to be added to the enameled glass. Only when these pigments have been added do we get coloured enamels. When enamels are melted together, they produce an almost clear glass with a slightly bluish or greenish tinge, known as a flux. This clear flux forms the basis from which coloured enamels are made by introducing, as a colouring agent, metallic oxides when the flux is in a molten state. The inclusion of 2 or 3 percent of one of these oxides is generally sufficient to produce a useful colour. The heated enamel after being thoroughly stirred is usually poured out onto a slab and allowed to solidify into cakes of approximately 4 to 5 inches (10 to 13 centimetres).[28]

[27] Woodrow Carpenter, 'Enamel Photography', *Glass on Metal*, 4(1985), pp.46-50.

[28] According to the *Imperial Workshop Archives*, enamel colour was also recorded as pieces; however, the size was not mentioned. For example, in year 1729, the emperor ordered the Imperial Workshop to make colours on the back. See, Zhu Jiajin, *Yangxindian zaobanchu shiliao jilan, diyiji* [The Archival Resource of Imperial Workshops of Yongzheng reign] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publication. 2003), p.178.

## Preparing Enamel Colours

After the manufacture, enamel colours are ready to use in a range of colours and qualities. For painting enamel on porcelain, enamel colours are prepared as fine powders. For use, they have to be broken up, ground to a fine powder, thoroughly washed, and painted onto a piece of porcelain.[29] Figure 2-8 is a leaf painting from an album of porcelain manufacture. This album was in a private collection, and was only published online of thirteen leaves. It is the leaf no.15 of this album, entitled clearly in Chinese characters, reads 'no.15, pink opaque enamel, painting pink enamel'.

[29] Herbert Maryon, *Metalwork and Enamelling* (fifth revised edition, New York: Dover Publication, 2012), p.169.

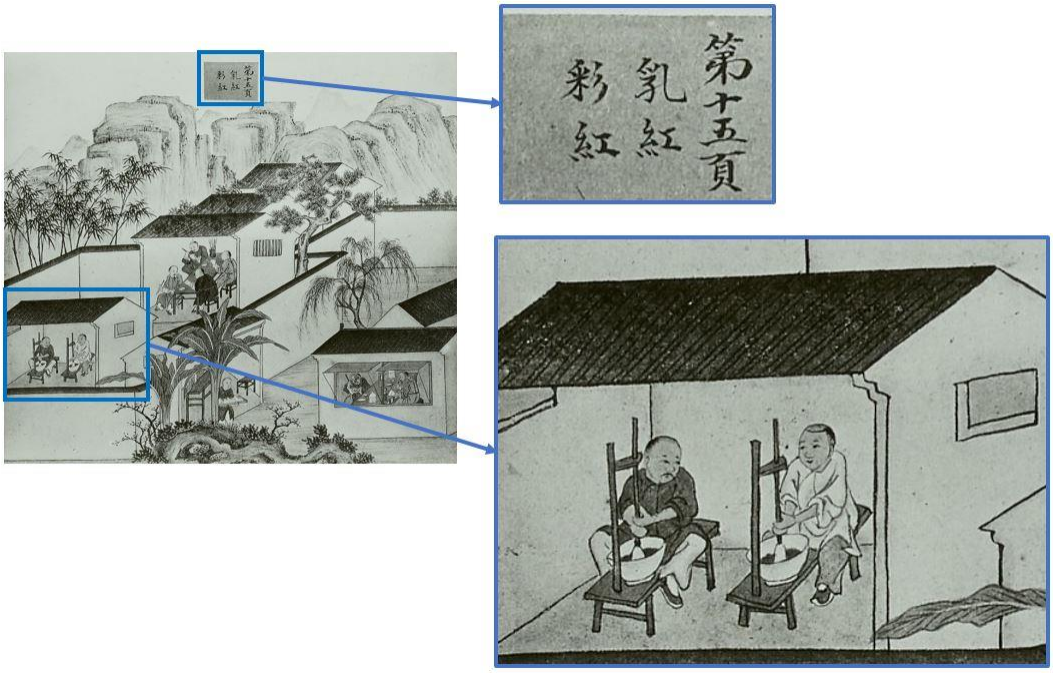


Figure 2-8 Grinding pink enamel colours, circa.1800.
Album leaf, dimension unknown. It is now held in the Deutsche Fotothek (German Photographic Collection) in the SLUB Dresden.
Source:
http://fotothek.slubdresden.de/fotos/df/hauptkatalog/0058000/df_hauptkatalog_0058758.jpg,accessed on 22 January, 2015.

According to Tang Ying's words from his *Illustration of porcelain production*, of this process:

> Ten *liang* [tael, one tael equals to thirty-seven grams] of the enamel colours were put into each mortar, and ground by special workmen for a whole month before being fit to use. To the benches are fixed upright wooden poles, which support the horizontal pieces of wood pierced to hold the handles of the pestles. The men seated in the bench holds the pestles and keeps revolving them. The monthly wage of this type of workman is only three maces silver [one mace of silver equals 3.71 grams].

> Those who can work longer hours till midnight can earn double. This work is usually done by aged and children, the lame and disabled workmen.[30]

**Applying Enamel Colours on Porcelain**

Before the production process, painters first had to paint upon a white slab of porcelain, which was used to test the colour and the time of the firing process. According to Tang Ying, painting enamel colours on porcelain required a very skilled painter who has a clear eye, attentive mind and precision painting skills.[31] Applying enamel colour powder to porcelain required it to be mixed with water, oil or glue, depending on the different colour sought. The oil was useful for rendering colours; the glue is useful for thin brushes, and the water useful for retouching the colour.

The painting tools were mainly brushes of various sizes. In order to make the colour pigments adhere to the body, painters would need to dip the brush in water, glue or oil before applying colours on a plain porcelain body. Figure 2-9 depicts an eighteenth-century enamel porcelain workshop at Jingdezhen. Different sizes of brush were used. A similar scene can also be seen in nowadays Jingdezhen. (Figure 2-10)

[30] Zhu Yan, *Tao Shuo* [The book of porcelain] (Explanatory from Du Bin) (Jinan, 2010), p.8.
[31] Ibid. p.11.

Figure 2-9 Painting enamel colours on porcelain.

Figure 2-10 Painting workshop in modern Jingdezhen.
Photo taken by author in July 2014.

**Firing Process**

After painting, the most important and complex stage in the process of enamelled porcelain was firing these painted pieces in a muffle kiln, two different kilns were used in the Chinese enamelled porcelain production, 'open stove' (明炉) and 'closed stove'(暗炉).

An open stove was used for smaller pieces, with the door of the stove opening outwards. (Figure 2-11) A charcoal fire having been lit all round, pieces of porcelain were placed upon an iron wheel, supported upon an iron fork. It is taken out when the colours appear clear and bright. The closed stove is used for larger pieces. (Figure 2-12) This stove is about one-meter-high, and about half a meter in diameter. It is surrounded by a double wall and the charcoal fire is put inside. The porcelain is put into the interior of the stove. The stoker holds in his hand a circular shield to protect him the heat of the fire. The stove is covered with a flat slab of yellow clay and the firing can take up to twenty-four hours.

Figure 2-11 Open stove of firing enamelled porcelain.

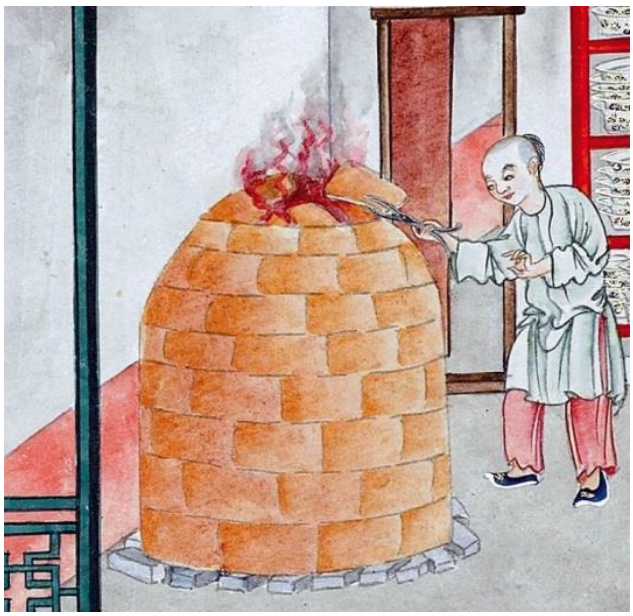

Figure 2-12 An eighteenth century closed stove.

*Tao shuo*, which was first published in 1774, mentions that two muffle kilns were used in Jingdezhen，

> The open stove is used for a smaller piece, the door of which opens outwards. A charcoal fire having been lit all round, the pieces of porcelain are placed upon an iron wheel, supported upon an iron fork, by which it is passed into the stove, the wheel being made to revolve by means of an iron hook, so as to equalize the action of the heat. It is taken out when the colour appears clear and bright.[32]

This section shows the process of how to produce a piece of enamelled porcelain. The key procedures were preparing the enamel colours, the application and use of enamel colours, as well as a means of firing enamelled porcelain. As will be shown in the following section, technological innovations actually occurred in these key

[32] Stephen W. Bushell, *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain being a Translation of the Tao Shuo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), p.26.

procedures. Innovations occurred in the process of making enamel colours and applying enamel colours to porcelain ware. I will show how the innovation took place and how knowledge about these procedures reached local manufacturers.

## 2.4. Technological Innovations and Knowledge Transfer

'Useful knowledge' has, in the past decade, become a term of choice in historical debates on the relationship between economic growth and technological change. For economic historians, the application, distribution as well as organization of 'useful knowledge' in the early modern Europe have created favourable environment for technological changes thus eventually leading to the Industrial Revolution. Economic historian, Joel Mokyr differentiates between two types of useful knowledge: what he calls "propositional knowledge," which focuses on how nature works; and "prescriptive knowledge," which focuses on how to use techniques. The former is not embodied just in science but in all kinds of knowing about how the world works. The latter is embodied in technical manuals, but also in the technologies themselves.[33]

Mokyr argues that before 1800, much of the technological progress was in the area of prescriptive knowledge, which only led to singleton techniques. It was the "widening of the epistemic bases after 1800" that signalled "a phase transition or regime change in the dynamics of useful knowledge."[34] It was not necessarily that scientific breakthroughs led to the Industrial Revolution, but rather that more easily

[33] Joel Mokyr, *The gift of Athena: historical origins of the knowledge economy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), p.5.
[34] Ibid., pp.19-20.

transmitted and formalized knowledge, especially propositional knowledge, made innovation easier.

The social and institutional dissemination of knowledge inevitably led Mokyr to address the question of who controls knowledge and its dissemination. He argues the creations of new mediums and institutions reduced the access costs, therefore useful knowledge could be distributed more effectively. He argues that natural philosophers, engineers, mechanics, chemists and other 'vital few' and their contacts and exchange make the communication between those who knew things ("savants") and those who made things ("fabricants") more effective.[35] Mokyr claims that the Industrial Enlightenment fostered a close collaboration and interaction between natural philosophy and technical craftsman that advanced technological innovation and progress, which could not be observed in other cultures, neither in the Ottoman Empire, Japan, India, Africa and China.[36]

Follow this discussion, the role played by the state and institutions in terms of knowledge dissemination and technological innovation became a crucial point of debate among historians to explain why China did not develop modern technology. For example, Davids explained that because of the lack of support from religious institutions in China after 1500, 'propositional' knowledge only grew in a partial way and the spheres of 'prescriptive' and 'propositional' knowledge did not become strongly interlinked, which constrained innovation.[37]

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[35] Joel Mokyr, 'The Intellectual Origins of Modern Economic Growth', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (June 2005), p.309.
[36] Ibid., p.323. More on Industrial Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, see, Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: Britain and the Industrial Revolution 1700-1850* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), chapter 2 and 5.
[37] Karel Davids, *Religion, Technology, and the Great and Little Divergences*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp.173-188.

However, China did develop institutions such as the imperial workshops and the imperial court certainly played crucial roles in knowledge dissemination and technology transfer. Dagmar Schäfer's edited book *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese History* used European approaches to examine issues related to Chinese technology in light of communication, appropriation, aggregation and documentation.[38] Focusing on different material culture or industry, authors of this volume have addressed issues of how knowledge and techniques were disseminated and circulated in China. Anne Gerritsen studied Jingdezhen, a local production centre for porcelain, which was embedded in networks of global, dynasty-wide and local circuits. Through her research, we see how rulers and producers channelled information for technical and design issues.[39] Susan Naquin links temple and technology of brick making in north China and shows local managers and patrons coordinated the technologies and raw materials.[40] Francesca Bray shows that technical content was transmitted via technological texts and illustrations depicting the sequences of agrarian production.[41] As we will see on enamelled porcelain, it was the Qing court which established enamel workshops that promoted the technique and more importantly, disseminated it via craftsmen exchange with other local manufactures.

[38] Dagmar Schäfer (ed.), *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese History* (Brill, 2011), p.3.
[39] Anne Gerritsen, 'Ceramics for Local and Global Markets: Jingdezhen's Agora of Technologies' in Dagmar Schäfer (ed.), *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp.161-184.
[40] Susan Naquin, 'Temples, Technology, and Material Culture in Shouzhou 壽州 , Anhui' in Dagmar Schäfer (ed.), *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese History* (Brill, 2011), pp.185-209.
[41] Francesca Bray, 'Chinese Literati and the Transmission of Technological Knowledge: The Case of Agriculture' in Dagmar Schäfer (ed.), *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese History* (Brill, 2011), pp.299-327.

Moreover, in terms of enamelled porcelain, craftsmen played an important role in technical knowledge transfer. The knowledge carried by those skilled craftsmen is defined as 'tacit' knowledge.[42] From Mokyr's point of view, the sophisticated technical language and visual images improved the 'tacit' knowledge articulation and transfer.[43] However, eighteenth-century China, shows a different picture. In terms of techniques on enamelled porcelain, three main sites (Beijing, Jingdezhen and Guangdong) were involved and skilled craftsmen and artisans were exchanged among these sites. The interaction and exchange among craftsmen and artisans were crucial to knowledge transfer of how to produce enamelled porcelain. In his research on early modern Europe, S.R. Epstein argues that craftsmen were the source of technological diffusion and innovation.[44] He shows the experiential and collective knowledge was moved and adapted by skilled technicians and eventually transferred the techniques from one location to another. Maxine Berg also believes that the mobility of artisans "contributed to webs of knowledge the networks by which new processes passed from one place to another."[45] This was also the case for enamelled porcelain. The complex production process involved not only individual artisans but a group of craftsmen. The technical knowledge of enamelled porcelain was a set of complexes which required skilled artisans to deploy and adapt. Therefore, the role of skilled craftsmen became even more important to the manufacture.

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[42] Tacit knowledge is defined as the kind of knowledge that is difficult to transfer to another person by means of writing it down. can be defined as skills, ideas and experiences that people have in their minds. See Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1966).

[43] Joel Mokyr, 'The Intellectual Origins of Modern Economic Growth', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (June 2005), p.298.

[44] Stephan R. Epstein, 'Transferring Technical Knowledge and Innovating in Europe c.1200-c.1800' in Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten Van Zanden (eds.), *Technology, Skills and the Pre-Modern Economy in the East and the West* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp.25-69.

[45] Maxine Berg, 'The Genesis of 'Useful Knowledge'', *History of Science*, vol.45, 2(2007), p.129.

The following sections will show detailed account of the interactions between the court and the other local manufacture. As by tracing how the technique was used and how these three places interacted, the key issues about the ways in which knowledge of enamel was transmitted from one place to another and the local perception of such new techniques can be better explained.

### 2.4.1. The Role of Qing Court

It is evident that the Qing court played a very vital role in assembling the new techniques and spreading them to other manufactures. It was the Qing court that established the workshops of enamel, sponsored the experiments of producing enamel and imported new materials from the Europe. Such workshops were, however, evidence for the important role of Qing court sponsoring Chinese artisans from all over the country in manufacturing enamelled porcelain, clocks, and glass. The court drew enormous resources to recruit the best artisans and the newest ideas. The enamel workshop was dominated by artisans from Jingdezhen and Canton. Different materials were assembled to create new objects. Court painters, enamel makers and potters worked together to fulfil the emperor's demand. Simultaneously, because artisans came from different places, technological innovation and creation occurred that could not have been produced anywhere else.

More importantly, the imperial workshops not only recruited artisans but also sent them back to their original places after they finished their mission either come to learn or to teach. For example, Jingdezhen and Canton were in charge of sending craftsmen who knew how to produce and paint enamel on porcelain or copperware to teach their

skills. Meanwhile, the imperial workshop also sent artisans to Jingdezhen and Canton to supervise and teach artisans there. Along with the communication and exchange among the imperial workshops and manufactures in Jingdezhen and Canton, the court created a system that facilitated the dissemination of new techniques and ideas, the new technique was inevitably spread to Jingdezhen and Canton.

A similar example of this type of court patronage for artisans can be found in the sixteenth-century Italy. As Luca Molà shows, 'under the first three Medici dukes, a large of number of different craftsmen from other parts of Italy and Europe were put together in a single location so that they might exchange information among themselves."[46] He argues that Italian court workshops played a very important role in promoting and improving new ideas and technological innovations. Molà points out that the Venetian government positively encouraged innovation by introducing a system similar to patents, whereby inventors were guaranteed the initial profits from the application of their ideas.[47]

What distinguished the Qing court from the Venetian Government was that the Qing court also produced large amount of written texts and images of techniques and allowed such information to circulate widely. For example, in year 1743, the Qianlong emperor commissioned a set of twenty illustration of porcelain production with textual explanations. The twenty paintings were painted by the court painters and the textual explanations were made by the porcelain artist Tang Ying, who was also the supervisor of the Imperial Kiln in Jingdezhen. The fact that much knowledge about porcelain production originated in the texts and images was thus spread from the court

[46] Luca Molà, 'States and Crafts: Relocating Technical Skills in Renaissance Italy' in Evelyn S. Welch and Michelle O'Malley (eds.), *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp.133-153.
[47] Ibid.

to the local manufacture. Ellen Huang has traced these images and texts in a wider context. She has discussed the production and dissemination of the porcelain manufacturing visual motif throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[48] By tracing the spread of porcelain manufacturing processes in prints and paintings, she argues that the flow of images and manufacturing process, linked export markets, Jingdezhen residents, court painters and Qing emperors. Moreover, the Qing court were also concerned about issues of form, design and processing. Sketches and three dimensional wooden samples and models conveyed the visual image of the product were sent to the manufacture in order to manage keeping accounts of manufacturing process.

Through the exchange of artisans with different manufactures, the court managed to control the imperial production. Meanwhile, the new techniques and knowledge that was used in the imperial workshops have been disseminated by the artisans as well as those texts and images. The following sections will examine the interactions among different sites of production. By doing so, we can gain a better and more detailed understanding of how enamel and enamelling as technique travelled. And more importantly, by analysing the interactions between the court, Jingdezhen and Canton, we can also gain a better understanding of how new techniques were perceived and adapted.

[48] Ellen Huang, 'China's China: Jingdezhen Porcelain and the Production of Art in the Nineteenth Century', (Ph.D Thesis, University of California, 2008), pp.80-141.

## 2.5. Interactions of Different Manufacture Sites

### 2.5.1. Beijing and Jingdezhen

From the point of view of enamelled porcelain production, the interaction between Jingdezhen and Beijing was dynamic. A close chronological examination of the exchanges between the court and Jingdezhen is therefore necessary. It is important to note that Jingdezhen was the main supply of blank porcelain to the Imperial Workshop for the second firing at enamel paintings. The *Imperial Workshops Archives* shows detailed records that point to three key moments of this transition. These are dated to 1725, 1728 and 1729.

> In 1725, the Director of the Imperial workshop in Beijing Hai Wang[49] reported that he sent two porcelain craftsmen [who originally came from Jiangxi] back to Jiangxi and a porcelain painter was kept on. I have tried his skill on enamel painting, he was quite good.[50]
>
> In 1728, the Director Hai Wang [in the Imperia Workshop at Beijing] was ordered by the emperor Yongzheng to collect some enamel colours and send them to Nian Xiyao [The supervisor of Imperial Kiln in Jingdezhen] for producing enamelled porcelain at Jingdezhen. The colours were: moon-white and yellow.[51]

[49] Haiwang was not only in charge of administration of household department, but he conducted many drawing samples on lacquer, wood carving, and enamel painting.
[50] *The Imperial Workshops Archives*, vol. 3, p.678.
[51] Ibid. p.424.

In the same year, Tang Ying[52] was posted to Jingdezhen by the Yongzheng emperor. Even before this, Tang Ying was in charge of the artists working at the Imperial workshops designing porcelain patterns.

In 1729, Nian Xiyao, the director of the Imperial Kiln in Jingdezhen sent an artisan who was familiar with techniques of using glazes and two enamel painters to the Imperial workshops. He also sent two hundred pieces of small brushes and enamel colours, including yellow, white, green, iron red, and black.[53]

The two researchers mentioned above (Xu Xiaodong, Shi Jingfei) also used these records to prove the connection between the court and Jingdezhen. As I have put them in chronological order, a clear version of the exchanges can be uncovered.

First, it shows that the interaction between Jingdezhen and Beijing was dynamic, as Jingdezhen's support of the Imperial workshops experienced different stages. Jingdezhen was originally in charge of sending craftsmen who knew how to make porcelain, and later sent craftsmen who know how to paint enamels on porcelain. It is not surprising that Jingdezhen was the dominant, perhaps even the sole supplier of blank porcelain to the Imperial workshop, as it had supplied porcelain to the court over the centuries. What is interesting and important is that Jingdezhen sent people who knew how to paint enamels just a year after the court had sent new enamel colours to Jingdezhen. The chronology of these records is certainly important, because it shows in what respects the two sites have interacted with each other, with regard to techniques. In 1728, the Imperial workshops sent enamel colours to Jingdezhen, and in 1729 Jingdezhen sent it back to the workshops their own enamel colours. This

[52] Tang Ying was born in 1682 and started his career at the age of sixteen in the Imperial Household Department. There he learned the skills of paintings, calligraphy and poetry, and became one of the artists to design artworks in various media for the court.
[53] *The Imperial Workshops Archives*, vol. 4, p.99.

indicates that except for the new colours received from the Imperial workshop, the manufacturer at Jingdezhen at the time conducted many experiments in enamel colours itself.

More importantly, it shows that Jingdezhen not only accepted new enamel colours, but also innovated according to its own technological circumstances. Scientific research has shown that the glass base for Jingdezhen enamel colours was lead-potassium-silicate formulation, while the composition of the enamelled porcelain made at the Imperial workshop was lead – borate – silicon.[54] Zhang Fukang of the Shanghai Silicate Institute has carried out a comparative analysis of samples of Palace workshop *falangcai* (imperial workshop enamelled porcelain) and Jingdezhen enamels.[55] He has noted that there is a difference in the flux formula. Jingdezhen consisted of Lead oxide - Potassium oxide (PbO -K2O) whereas *falangcai* also has boric oxide. These oxides act as flux that lowers the melting temperature of the enamels. It has also been shown that the new enamels of Jingdezhen were similar in formula to its own technique of *wucai* colours.[56]

Recently, another scientific examination has confirmed the point that Jingdezhen has constantly improved on recipes of enamels, as well as the application methods.[57] Four enamelled porcelains were examined, one made by the imperial workshop (dating from the late 1720s) and three made in Jingdezhen (dating from the late 1720s to the early 1730s). An analysis was carried out by using optical microscopy and non-

[54] Zhang Fukang, '*Zhongguo chuantong diwen seliao yu yangcai* [Chinese Traditional Low Fired Glazes and Over-glaze Colours] in *Zhongguo gudai taoci kexue jishu chengjiu* [The Achievements of Chinese Pottery] (Shanghai, 1986), pp.333-48.
[55] Ibid.
[56] This was conducted by Wang Zhuping from the National Palace Museum, 'Cong hexue wenxian fenxi huigu kan falangcai, yangcai yu fencai de mingming '[Scientific Analysis of Chinese enamelled porcelain and its terms', *Gugong xueshu jikan* [Research Quarterly of the National Palace Museum], 29, 3(2012), pp.138-140.
[57] Ibid.

destructive, non-invasive energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF). It revealed that the pink enamels of Jingdezhen were applied with the addition of opaque white (lead-white, displaying red with white particles, which created a non-transparent opaque effect).[58] The one made in the imperial workshop does not show this opaque effect. Blue and purple green enamels were composed of manganese violet glaze, which yielded a clear and flat effect. This composition of manganese glaze to produce a purple colour was a technique developed locally in Jingdezhen in the fifteenth century.[59]

From the comparison between Jingdezhen enamels and the Imperial Workshop enamels, the transmission of enamel technique between Jingdezhen and Beijing was revealed not so much as a unilinear interaction, but a two-way process. The locality of technological innovation from different manufacturers also reveals that Jingdezhen made its own version of enamel colour involving the addition of opaque white, which creates an opaque effect of porcelain. This shows that Jingdezhen responded to new techniques by improving their existing technology.

### 2.5.2. Beijing and Canton

The connection between the Imperial workshop and Canton has been well illustrated by Xu Xiaodong and Shi Jingfei. Both of their research relied heavily on the *Imperial Workshop Archives* records, the Canton Customs as well as correspondences of Jesuit missionaries. They have shown that during most of the eighteenth century, Canton

[58] Ibid.
[59] Li Jiazhi (ed.), *Zhongguo kexue jishushi taoci juan* [History of Chinese Science and Technology in Ceramic] (Beijing: Kexue Chuban she, 1998), p.479.

supplied enamelled copperware to the court. In the early stage of enamel manufacture in the Imperial workshop before 1730, Canton sent several craftsmen to the Imperial workshop. Both Xu Xiaodong and Shi Jingfei argued that Canton had mastered the technique of enamel manufacture and enamel paintings.[60]

Using a piece of enamelled porcelain decorated with coats of arms (as Xu Xiaodong called painted enamel in Chinese), shipped to the Britain in 1731, with the invoice issued at Canton, Xu Xiaodong compared this enamelled ware to another piece of enamelled copper, and argued that the style was similar. Xu further argues that Canton could already start producing painted enamel during the early 1730s.[61] However, this argument is misleading and problematic. Xu Xiadong made a claim about a similarity of style, while completely ignoring the fact that she was dealing with two different materials. According to surviving objects and records themselves, the piece of enamelled ware was enamelled porcelain, not enamelled copper.[62] The Peers family had ordered two lots of porcelain, one containing blue and white and the other enamelled porcelain in 1731. Charles Peers organised the transportation of the first lot from Madras to England in January 1732, while enamelled porcelain was shipped to England in July 1732.[63]

Furthermore, Xu Xiaodong did not explain nor illustrate the technical connection between enamelled copper ware and enamelled porcelain. Canton was proved to have produced enamelled copper for the court during the late seventeenth and early

[60] Xu, 'Gongting yu difang', p.321.
[61] Ibid.
[62] A detailed description of this invoice, see Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), pp.22-23.
[63] David S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol.1 (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1974), p.174.

eighteenth centuries; however, can we conclude that Canton could also produce enamelled porcelain?[64]

The main reason why such an assumption was made by current scholarship lies in the fact that there was less investigation of the original archival resource. If we look at the *Imperial Workshops Archives* more closely, we find that Canton had indeed sent craftsmen to the Imperial Workshop. These craftsmen were exclusively described as 'craftsmen who know how to manufacture enamel colours'. Thus the technical support from Canton to the Imperial Workshop was different from Jingdezhen. It is very apparent from the original records that Canton was supplying craftsmen in making enamel colours, rather than applying enamels to other materials. For instance, Pan Chun, one of the Canton craftsmen, made some metal materials, including a piece of red enamel.[65]

However, it would be unreasonable to suppose that there was no connection between enamelled copperware and enamelled porcelain production. Because the nature of the Imperial Workshop was to create products for the emperor, they would have recruited the best craftsmen of every skill, including painters, enamel makers and porcelain makers to work together. Certainly, each of them would provide their own expertise, but they might also have involved co-operation, which in a way they could have learnt from each other. However, no records survived relating to this, which caused difficulty in addressing this issue. It is impossible to illustrate how the Imperial workshop organised those craftsmen, but this section of my research aims to address the fact that the technical supports from Beijing to Jingdezhen and from

[64] Shi, *Riyue guanghua,* pp.43-47.

[65] Quoted from Shi,*Riyue guanghua,* p.36. The First Chinese History Archive, Q*inggong yugangao shangmao dangan quanji* [The Complete Trading Records of Canton, Macao Merchants survived in the Qing palaces], vol.1, (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2002), p.102.

Beijing to Canton were different. We cannot deny their relations, but neither can we blur their technological natures that they were of different materials.

It is difficult to determine precisely the technical exchange between Beijing and Canton. One problem with disentangling this subject has been the tendency to emphasise stylistic exchanges. During the whole of the eighteenth century, Canton was a main site of supply of enamelled copperware to the court. Most of the items were kept and collected in the Forbidden City, and now collected in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. In terms of a curatorial approach, Shi Jingfei's research has established a general history of enamelled copperware production and shed much light on the subject. However, her research mainly focused on items that were collected by the court, while little has been mentioned and studied on items circulated outside the court. Very recently, Jorge Welsh, the well-known gallery of Chinese export porcelain, held an exhibition of Chinese enamelled copperwares entitled *China of All Colours: Painted Enamels on Copper* and published a catalogue along with the exhibition.[66] This exhibition shed light on enamelled copperwares that had been traded. By examining particular objects of similar designs, Jorge Welsh reveals the technological similarities between enamelled copperware and enamelled porcelain. Yet the relationship of production techniques between enamelled porcelain and copperware is still unclear.

We have little information relating to the production point of view. I have discussed these questions with Shi Jingfei and Jorge Welsh. It seems that everyone is on board with the agreement that there were interactions between enamelled porcelain and enamelled copperwares manufactures. However, no records have survived

[66] Luisa Vinhais, Jorge Welsh (eds.), *China of All Colours: Painted Enamels on Copper* (London: Jorge Welsh Research and Publishing, 2015).

relating to this, which have caused difficulty in addressing this issue. Yet the technological connection among enamelled copperware, enamelled porcelain as well as enamelled glass certainly existed. Only with further scientific examinations of the enamel wares of each category can we find more details of these interactions.

### 2.5.3. Jingdezhen and Canton

Although it is now not possible to establish a connection between enamel copperwares and enamelled porcelain, it may be appropriate to look in another direction to explain their connections.

A new colour that reappeared on Jingdezhen porcelain in the late 17th century. François Xavier d'Entrecolles mentioned that Jingdezhen craftsmen had discovered the secret of painting with an over-glaze blue.[67] This colour differed from others, in that it was made from a pulverized blue glass that was also used at the time as enamel on metal. This over-glaze blue was described in Chinese sources as 'blue' (Cui, 翠). This blue enamel could be used to produce shades from blue to dark purple. The material mentioned in the same letter usually came from Canton and Beijing, with the one from Beijing being much better than Canton.[68] Although the source of Canton blue colour remains uncertain, d'Entrecolles's descriptions indicated that Canton was a supply of enamel colours for enamelled porcelain production at Jingdezhen.

Ceramic scientists started to explore the development of rose pink by analysing the structure of the enamels. However, the examined objects from their research were

[67] Cited in Emily Curtis, *Glass Exchange*, pp.107-108 , *Lettres édifiantes et Curieuses: écrutes de missions étrangerès (1717-76)*, vol.16 (Paris: N. Le Clare, 34 vols.), pp.318-67. 1722.
[68] Ibid.

exclusively enamelled porcelain. From their findings, it is impossible to compare the difference between items made in enamelled porcelain and those made of copper. Research has been conducted by the Victoria and Albert museum made an exception, in 1999, a total of forty-eight objects were examined, comprising twenty-one Chinese porcelain objects dating between 1730 and 1750, eight nineteenth century and late Qing porcelain, two glass bowls, four Canton enamels.[69] The EDXRF (Non-invasive energy dispersive X-ray) analysis demonstrates that the enamel colour composition of eighteenth-century enamelled porcelain from Jingdezhen was mostly closely related to those of Canton enamelled copperwares.[70] Rose Kerr further suggested that enamel colours for use on metal were a major influence on porcelain enamelling.[71] However, further research has not yet been conducted since then.

It is reasonable to conclude that during the eighteenth century, Jingdezhen enamelled porcelain production and Canton enamelled copperwares shared similar materials. However, by focusing on the surviving objects and the fragmental records, it is impossible to uncover the exact nature of the technical exchanges between these two media, and further scientific examinations are necessary. Although for the moment, my research cannot further illustrate the technological exchange between Jingdezhen and Canton, it reveals a link that has been neglected for decades. As this thesis will show, this link has played an important role in the porcelain trade in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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[69] Paula Mills and Rose Kerr, 'Zhongguo ciqi yanjiu he fenhong cailiao de yanjiu yu zhongguo fenhong boli he ouzhou fenhongse youshangcai de bijiao', [A comparative study of Chinese pink enamel and European pink enamel] *Gutaoci kexue jishu* [The Technology of Chinese Ceramics], 4 (1999), pp.258-265. A more general report of this examination, see, Rose Kerr, 'What were the Origins of Chinese *famille rose' Orientations*, 31, 5 (2000), pp.53-60.

[70] Kerr, 'the Origins of Chinese *famille rose'*, p.59.

[71] Ibid.

I have shown the dynamic exchange between Jingdezhen and the Imperial workshop at Beijing. Combining the archival records and the published scientific examinations, and I have also shown the local perspective on the technical innovation which occurred in Jingdezhen. These two points bring together different perspectives to the studies of Chinese enamelled porcelain and enrich our understanding of technology transfer and innovation occurred in terms of porcelain production of eighteenth-century China. This section also reveals that the technological support from Canton consisted mainly of making enamel colours, and we cannot blur the nature of the supports offered from the manufactures in Jingdezhen and Canton, as it would confuse our understanding of enamelled porcelain production.

### 2.5.4. Techniques of Painting Enamels on Porcelain and Styles

Quick technological adaption and innovation allowed local painters at Jingdezhen to adjust their painting techniques. One may wonder why it occurred so quickly in a period of less than a decade. Certainly, men such Nian Xiyao, Tang Ying and other painters, craftsmen who have served at the Imperial workshops played a very important role in transmitting the knowledge of how to make enamels and how to paint enamels on porcelain. What is often not taken into account by present scholarship are the drawings, images and texts that have been involved in the porcelain production.

On 3rd March in the fifth year of the Yongzheng reign (1727), an imperial edict[72] was sent to the Imperial Workshops: 'You should keep the design samples (*shiyang* 式样) of those crafts that I have ordered. Otherwise, you might not fabricate the crafts in the same design.'[73] This record shows that the emperor himself had been involved in the painting design of porcelain production. It also revealed a system of Imperial workshops whereby the design sample would need to be proved by the emperor before the object was actually made. From the 1680s onwards, the Qing court applied a design samples system to ensure the objects could be manufactured of their own tastes. Craig Clunas argued that court art was always partly at the service of the visible demonstration of power and status. The court needed symbolic resources of works of art that could satisfy ideological justification.[74] Peter Lam and Yu Peijin argued that because of this system, the particular style or design was controlled by the court and the circulation was restrained to the royal family.[75] However, they underestimated the fact that the information conveyed by the design was in detail, and from various aspects.

These examples included sketches of the planned product on paper, or were accompanied by models prototypes in wood or wax, showcasing the size and design. The sketch visualised the dimensions, the colour and refinement of detail in their work

[72] Imperial edicts were normally issued by the emperor and it was the closest expression of the will of the emperor himself.
[73] Zhu Jiajin,*Yangxindian zaobanchu shiliao* [Archival records of the Imperial Workshops during Yongzheng reign], p.7.
[74] Craig Clunas, *Arts in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.45
[75]Lam Yip Keung Peter, 'Cangu yunxin-liuyuan sheji ciyang [The study of Liuyuan and his design on ceramics] in Palace Museum, *Gugong bowuyuan bashi huadan gutaoci guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* [The proceeding of the International Conference on Chinese Ceramic] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Press, 2007); Yu Peijin, 'Qing yongzheng citai huafalang liuye tuwan [A enamelled porcelain bowl with willow leaves in Yongzheng period], *Gugong wenwu yuekan* [Monthly Journal of National Palace Museum],319 (2009),pp.112-15.

to achieve the consent of the emperor.[76] However, there is no evidence in the archival materials to show the location of samples in the Forbidden City. None of these sketches of the eighteenth-century examples is preserved in the Forbidden City or in Jingdezhen. Wang Guangyao believed that the Taiping Rebellion[77] destroyed most of the samples and the Imperial Kilns in Jingdezhen. Still extant samples are sketches mainly of Tongzhi (r.1862-1874) and Guangxu (r.1875-1908) periods containing more than one hundred sheets stored in special cases.[78] For instance, designs for an enamelled porcelain bowl, giving detailed instructions about the different dimensions and the required quantity of each size on the right side of the painting, (Figure 2-13) which possibly resulted in a piece of enamelled bowl, as Figure 2-14 shows.

[76] Wang Guangyao, 'Cong gugong cang qingdai zhici guanyao kan zhongguo gudai guanyang zhid' [The study of official Sample System from the collection of Palace Museum] *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* [Journal of Palace Museum], 6 (2006), pp.6-16.

[77] The Taiping Rebellion was a widespread civil war in southern China from 1850 to 1864.

[78] An exhibition entitled *Guanyang yuci—gugong cang qingdai tongzhi guangxu yuzhi tuyang ji ciqizhan* [The Imperial Design of Porcelain during Tongzhi and Guanxu reigns] was held in Palace Museum in Beijing in 2007, which is by far the only exhibition on the design samples. For a general introduction, see the website of this exhibition: http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/272/@/119468.html. A catalogue was published, Wang Guangyao and Guo Xingkuan eds.,*Yuci guanyang* [Imperial Porcelain and Official Sample] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publication, 2007).

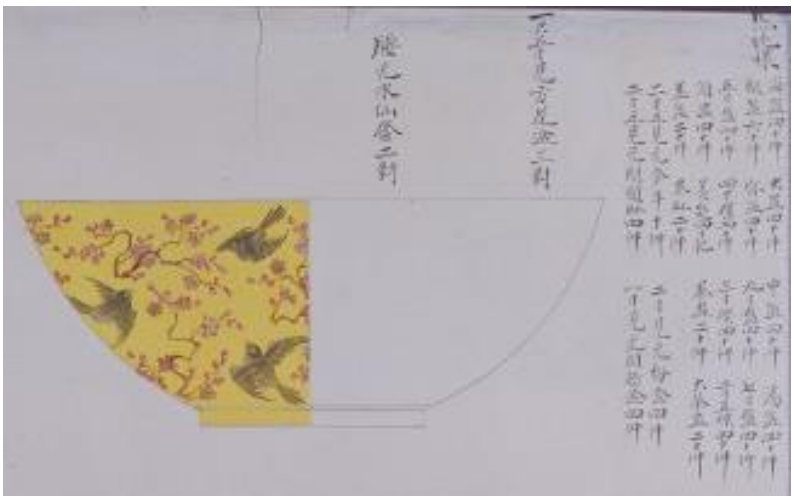

Figure 2-13 A piece of design for an enamelled porcelain bowl.
Late nineteenth century, watercolours; Length: 19 cm, width: 29.9cm.
Photo Courtesy of Palace Museum, Beijing.

Figure 2-14 A piece of enamelled bowl painted after the design of Figure 2-13.
Tongzhi Period (1862-1874); Height: 6 cm; Diameter: rim, 12.2cm, foot, 5 cm.
Photo Courtesy of Palace Museum, Beijing.

In order to fulfil the imperial order, the supervisor of the Imperial Kiln would need to recruit skilled painters to copy the design from the painting to porcelain in various dimensions. Thus, the abundance of talented painters at Jingdezhen who work for the Imperial Kiln would have the chance to observe the design in order to get it

correct and it is worth noting that only towards the end of Ming period (second of the sixteenthcentury) did Jingdezhen's craftsmen start to have the freedom to choose their employers. During most of the Ming period, the court controlled labour in Jingdezhen; thus craftsmen who worked for the Imperial Kiln were not allowed to work for private kilns. In this regard, because the Imperial Kiln and the private kiln shared craftsmen, the circulation of the style or the design could not be controlled. Therefore, it is arguable that the design sketch itself may not have been circulated outside the Imperial Kiln, but the information, such as the patterns and colours could have been transmitted and circulated among craftsmen. This is important for the production of enamelled porcelain, because the design could have been circulated among the Imperial Kilns and the private kilns.

During the Yongzheng period, Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766)[79] edited his first Chinese-language book on the mechanics of perspectives entitled *Visual Learning* (*Shixue*, 视学). The book was published in cooperation with Nian Xiyao (1671-1738), a painter, mathematician and a government official. What is more important was that Nian Xiyao had also supervised the Imperial Kiln at Jingdezhen. The published *Shixue* adapted section of the first volume of a contemporary study of perspective entitled *Perspective pictorum et architectorum* by Andrea Pozzo (1742-1709),[80] published in 1693. Castiglione and Nian's book was first published in 1729,[81] and a second, enlarged edition appeared in 1735. The second edition

[79] He was an Italian Jesuit lay brother who served as a missionary in China, where he became a painter at the imperial court of the Yongzheng and Qianlong Emperors.
[80] Pozzo was a celebrated Italian Jesuit painter, architect, and above all, champion of the theory of perspective in the baroque age.
[81] In his preface to the 1729 edition, Nian writes that he was able to use Western techniques for Chinese subjects after receiving advice from Castiglione. This preface was reproduced in the 1735 edition, a copy of which resides in the collection of Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

explained the use of perspective by including an illustration of a miniature stage set with a furnished interior scene. The stage setting was divided horizontally into six sections, with each section receding further into the background than the one in front of it; objects and figures were depicted in the correct perspective, that is, according to their distance from the audience or the viewer of the illustration. The publication of *Shixue* represented the first formal dissemination of techniques and mechanisms used in Western art from Western artists at the Qing court to the Chinese public.

Nian Xiyao, himself, states the significance of publishing the *Visual Learning* in his 1735 edition preface,

> China has cultivated a great tradition of depicting nature in landscape paintings but neglected the accurate representation of projection and the measurement of buildings and implements. If one desires to depict these objects correctly [in a composition], one must use the Western technique.[82]

It is clear that Nian was interested in the production of realism and accuracy within a depicted space, and not in changing the stylistic foundations of Chinese landscape painting. When Nian Xiyao was assigned as the Supervisor of the Imperial Kiln, it is not surprising that he applied much of the western painting techniques to porcelain. Although a few objects may have barely circulated outside the Imperial Kiln, for the court, the product from the Imperial Kiln in general became paradigmatic for the broader phenomenon of aristocratic taste.

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[82] Quoted from Hiromitsu Kobayashi 'Suzhou Prints and Western Perspective: The Painting Techniques of Jesuits Artists at the Qing Court, and Dissemination of the Contemporary Court Style of Painting to Mid-Eighteenth-century Chinese Society through Woodblock Prints' in John W. O'Malley, S.J. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (eds.), T*he Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto, Buffalo, London:University of Toronto Press, 2006),pp.266-267.

As I have shown in the above sections, the interactions and knowledge transfer among different sites experience was dynamic. This dynamic therefore impels us to reconsider the locality technological exchanges and innovation. Each manufacture experienced a different process of innovation, and resulted in different terms of Chinese enamelled porcelain.

## Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explore the technological transfer of enamel techniques, including making enamel colours, and painting enamel on porcelain. It first introduced the manufacturing process of porcelain and enamelled porcelain. Secondly, it explained the technological innovation of Chinese enamelled porcelain in detail. It demonstrated that the innovation occurred of the procedures of making enamel colours and applying enamel colours on porcelain.

In order to explain the transmission of enamel techniques, I applied the term ‘useful knowledge’ and Joel Mokyr’s approach on ‘useful knowledge’. I examined making enamel colours and applying enamel colours on porcelain as ‘useful knowledge’. More importantly, I have shown that along with technique transfer, the Qing court played a very important role in knowledge dissemination. This point of view challenges Mokyr’s view on the imperial China that knowledge was controlled by the court, and thus not accessible.

In the last section, unlike current studies that focus mostly on how overseas and local manufacture at Jingdezhen and Canton influenced the imperial workshops at Beijing, I have examined the technological exchanges and innovation of interactions

among different manufacture sites. In doing so, I have been able to demonstrate the different perspectives of technological innovation of each manufacture. Overall, this chapter has set up the technical grounds on which my thesis is based, and provided a starting point for the following chapters, all of which deal with the changes that occurred after this technical innovation.

# CHAPTER 3. Enamelled Porcelain Consumption in Eighteenth-century China

## 3.1. Introduction

On the 9th of April, 2013, Sotheby's in Hong Kong sold a ruby-ground enamelled porcelain bowl decorated with a double lotus and blue enamel reign mark *Kangxi yuzhi* (康熙御制, made in the Kangxi reign, r.1662-1722) for HK$74million/US$9.5million, setting a World Auction Record for porcelain of the Kangxi period (Figure 3-1).


Figure 3-1 Enamelled porcelain bowl with a four-character blue *Kangxi yuzhi* mark. Kangxi period. Diameter: 11cm, Sold: 74,040,000 HKD (Hammer Price with Buyer's Premium)
Source: http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/2013/so-alice-cheng-hk0481/overview.html, accessed on 13 April 2013

Many factors contributed to its price, but the most important one is probably that it is a piece of imperial ware, and as such, has an intimate connection with the emperor, an association which is often made with enamelled porcelain of the Kangxi period.

Enamelled porcelain (decorated with new enamels) first appeared in China in the late seventeenth century, as I have shown in Chapter 2, and the Kangxi emperor had such a personal affection for enamelled porcelain that he established an enamel workshop at the court in 1693. It is well established that enamelled porcelain of the period between the late 1680s and early 1740s is a type of imperial art work that was produced exclusively for the court.[1] As a result, enamelled porcelain is a well-established category in the study of Chinese porcelain, and one that has a relatively long history in both connoisseurship and scholarly studies of porcelain in China.

On the other hand, enamelled porcelain that survived in overseas collections received scholars' attention as a category of 'export' commodities. Since the 1950s, western curators and collectors have made an effort to exhibit and catalogue the surviving enamelled porcelain in museums and private collections.

All of the exhibitions and related publications have served to reinforce the notion that enamelled porcelain was produced either for the court or for the export market. However, the assumption of classifying enamelled porcelain as either 'imperial' or 'export' is problematic. Whilst this binary classification serves to reinforce its associations with imperial and overseas consumers, it reveals little information about the consumption of enamelled wares in the domestic market. This is hardly surprising, given that the current methodology for ceramic studies are those of art history or

[1] Works on enamelled porcelain of this period feature them as 'imperial wares'. The most recent and comprehensive example of this is Shi Jingfei, *Riyue Guanghua, Qinggong huafalang* [Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court] (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 2012); Yu Peijin (ed.), *Jincheng xuying:yongzheng falangci tezhan* [A special of exhibition of porcelain with painted enamel in Yongzheng period of the Qing dynasty] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2012); Liao Baoxiu, *huali yangcai: Qianlong yancai tezhan* [Illustrated Catalogue of Stunning Decorative Porcelains from the Ch'ien-lung reign] (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 2008); Cai Hebi *Qing Gongzhong falangci tezhan* [Special Exhibition of Ch'ing Dynasty Enamelled Porcelains of the Imperial Ateliers](Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1992).

archaeology and now 'world history',[2] which all assume a fixed identity for the objects concerned. In terms of enamelled porcelain, it is either defined simply as a type of court art in China or a luxury good in Europe. As a result, its consumption beyond the Qing court in the domestic market is easily ignored.

This chapter will explore the internal or domestic trade and circulation of enamelled porcelain within eighteenth-century China. It questions the assumption that enamelled porcelain was either consumed exclusively in the court or dedicated to export, an assumption that has previously gone unexamined. This study identifies different trajectories for enamelled porcelain through time and space and sets out to prove, firstly, that enamelled porcelain was consumed widely beyond the court; secondly, it shows that consumers actively responded to the new commodity throughout eighteenth-century China.

[2] As globally traded commodities, Chinese porcelains were proved to be useful exemplars for discussions of the development of the history of international trade, which in turn were used as evidence by historians of world history Recent examples include Robert Batchelor, 'On the Movement of Porcelains: Rethinking the Birth of Consumer Society as Interactions of Exchange Networks, 1600-1750', in J. Brewer and F. Trentmann (eds.), *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges* (Oxford, 2006), pp.95-121; Maxine Berg, 'Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution', in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*(London, 2003), pp.228-244.

## 3.2. Studies on the Domestic Consumption of Chinese Porcelain

Studies on domestic consumption are scarce. In recent years, scholars from research fields such as global history,[3] economic history and material culture have examined the consumption of Jingdezhen porcelain of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[4]

As for porcelain consumption in China, scholars have conducted some general studies. Robert Finlay examined the culture of porcelain in China between the tenth and fourteenth century. He observed that porcelain in this period was largely consumed both in domestic and export markets. Porcelain was a substitute for jade, and was mainly used to make every-day utensils. The most admired porcelain was designed in the style of bronzes.[5] Compared to his extensive research on how Chinese ceramics played roles in other cultures, his research on how ceramics were consumed within China is less developed. Moreover, his research on the eighteenth century merely expanded on the famous letters from François Xavier d'Entrecolles (1664-

[3] By far the most comprehensive study on Chinese porcelain in global context has been conducted by Robert Finlay, see, Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2010). In 2010, the project entitled *Cultures of Ceramics in Global History, 1300 to 1800*, hosted by the Global History and Culture Centre at the University of Warwick, explored many perspectives concerning the material and visual culture of Chinese ceramics. The presented papers at the conference were later developed a special issue *Global China* in *Journal of World History* vol. 23, no.1 (2012).

[4] For studies of economic historians on Chinese porcelain consumption and its impact, the most useful ones are from Maxine Berg: see 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present,* 182 (February 2004), pp.85-143*;* 'Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution,' in Maxine Berg and E. Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desire and Delectable Goods* (London: Palgrave, 2003), pp.228-244.

[5] Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art,* pp.107-136.

1741),[6] with a special focus on the general production of Jingdezhen. How porcelain was consumed by Chinese is absent from this study.

Shelagh Vainker, on the other hand, provided a more detailed study of porcelain consumption in China during the eighteenth century.[7] Together with silk, she argued that in eighteenth-century China, porcelain was consumed neither exclusively by the court, nor specifically by export markets, but by the domestic market. She suggested that by the eighteenth century, both silk and porcelain conferred little social status on those who possessed them.[8] That they were used neither as luxury nor as exotic items contradicted the European conception of the use of porcelain in China.[9] Generally speaking, this insight works in many ways. For example, it explains why blue-and-white porcelain was used for everyday items in Qing China, even though it is highly valued as a luxury good in today's world. However, it does not address the fact that enamelled porcelain in this period was a desirable luxury item in China: the market demand and production were not only for everyday use, but also for collecting or interior decoration.

Those studies mentioned above are basically what we have in current studies concerning issues of domestic consumption. Their discussions are more or less too

[6] François Xavier d'Entrecolles (1664-1741) was a French Jesuit priest whose mission in China was to convert people to Christianity. He lived in Beijing and Jiangxi, where he observed the manufacture of porcelain in Jingdezhen, and sent two letters on porcelain making to Europe in 1712 and 1722. The letters were shortly published in France. See, Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art*, p.26. The letters have been included in Tichane, *Ching-te-chen*, and the texts of these letters were also translated into English and have been placed online,
see, http://www.ceramicstoday.com/articles/entrecolles.htm.

[7] Shelagh Vainker, 'Luxuries or Not? Consumption of Silk and Porcelain in Eighteenth Century China,' in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth-Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (London, 2003), pp.209-218.

[8] Vainker, 'Luxuries or Not?' p.216.

[9] Ibid. p.218.

general for our understanding of how exactly porcelain was used in society, and how porcelain was channelled.

## 3.3. Methodology and Resources

The primary sources consulted here include the archives of the *Imperial Workshops Archives* and local gazetteers.[10] Further Chinese reference works consulted here include contemporary literary notes, which include short texts and scattered notes on porcelain. Nevertheless, these works were usually compiled by famous contemporary literati who collected luxury decorative arts themselves; their observations are crucial for the study of porcelain consumption. Apart from textual records, this chapter will also give attention to the visual materials of the period. For instance, albums of paintings on the porcelain trade provide visual evidence of how porcelain was actually sold and distributed in Jingdezhen.

In order to explore the significance of enamelled porcelain in eighteenth-century China, the theoretical framework presented here is grounded in several different disciplines, including art history, cultural anthropology and material culture. Arjun Appadurai and other scholars have claimed that goods have social lives that play complex roles in various societies, periods and cultures.[11] Craig Clunas draws on that work, and taking China as his focus, places objects in their social context of economic growth, commercialisation and the breakdown of traditional social barriers,

[10] Gazetteers of Jingdezhen and relative contains on porcelain were published in China, such as Jiangxisheng qinggongye taoci yanjiusuo (ed.), *Jingdezhen taoci shigao* [The Collected gazetteers of Jingdezhen] (Shanghai, 1959).
[11] Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1986).

emphasising the importance of the market for commodities and the way in which they function as symbols of social status in Ming China.[12] Jonathan Hay takes objects as decorative arts in material, techniques, patronage and taste to analyse how they together form a system that affects every level of decoration in Ming-Qing China.[13]

## 3.4. Distinctive Values of Enamelled Porcelain

The issue of value has been addressed by historians investigating material culture and consumer preference. Studies used 'emulation', 'conspicuous consumption' and 'distinction' to generate a wealth of information about the material culture. The economic historian Jan de Vries, in his study of 'luxury', situated in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century urban centres in northwest Europe, contrasted decorative silverworks, as 'new' luxuries, with 'old Luxury', a type of consumption that thrived at court and served mainly to demarcate social status and the associated porcelain.[14] More recently, objects and materiality became the focus, in order to emphasise the shifting perceptions of luxury or the increasing importance of comfort and 'sense value'.[15] Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, for example, reveal a shift in consumer choice from goods of intrinsic value to goods made from innovative processes of

[12] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991 and 2004).
[13] Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2010).
[14] A very good overview, see Neil McKendrick, 'Introduction: The Birth of a consumer society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England' in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1982), pp.1-8.
[15] Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumer and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850* (New York: Manchester University Press,1999); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in the Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005).

production.[16] The value of goods for consumers is thus considered to be dependent upon its manufacturing procedures and its workmanship. The research mentioned above mainly focused on the Europe of the early modern period, while in this thesis, I aim to examine as a particular type of product the value of enamelled porcelain for the eighteenth-century Chinese consumers.

### 3.4.1. Craftsmanship

The first value that enamelled porcelain embodied is the aesthetic value of the complex craftsmanship involved in the manufacture of enamelled porcelain, which to date has received little attention in the current scholarship. Seventeenth-century China saw the compilation of a number of comprehensive summaries of Chinese technology. Works like *Systematic Pharmacopoeia* (Bencao gangmu, 本草纲目),[17] *Complete treatise on Agriculture* (Nongzheng quanshu, 农政全书*)*[18] and *Exploitation of the works of art* (Tiangong Kaiwu, 天工开物*)*[19] represent the highest level of summary

[16] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p.26; Helen Clifford, 'A Commerce with Things: The Value of Precious Metalwork in Early Modern England', in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (New York, 1999), p.148;

[17] This is a Chinese material medical work written by Li Shizhen (1518-1593) and published in 1596. It is a work epitomising the material medicine known at the time, which is regarded as the most complete and comprehensive medical book ever written in the history of traditional Chinese medicine. It lists all the plants, animals, minerals, and other items that were believed to have medicinal properties.

[18] This was written by Xu Guangqi and published in 1639, which it is believed Xu had drafted with collaboration of his colleagues and friends. See, Catherine Jami, Peter Mark Engelfriet, Gregory Blue, *Statecraft and Intellectual Renewal in Late Ming China: The Cross-Cultural Synthesis of Xu Guangqi (1562-1633)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p.335.

[19] Song Yingxing, *Tiangong Kaiwu* [The Exploitation of the Works of Nature], 1637; reprinted in 1989 with explanatory notes by Pan Jixing, see Pan Jixing, *Tiangong Kaiwu jiaozhu yi yanjiu* [Study of the Exploitation of the Works of Nature with explanatory notes] (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989), p.426. *Tiangong kaiwu* has been translated into English by E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-chuan Sun as *T'ien-kung K'ai-wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1963).

in the areas of medicine, agriculture and industry. The publishing boom in the seventeenth century placed such texts into broader circulation, which made the technology widely read.[20] The influence of these books during the eighteenth century, however, was considerably greater than the seventeenth century.

In the eighteenth century, the emphasis on technology was not only expressed by the extensive printed books, but can also be observed on the basis of esteem towards products that embodied complicated and new techniques, such as enamelled porcelain visible in the documents concerning enamelled porcelain making. One of the most influential works was by Tang Ying 唐英 (1682-1756) who was the supervisor of the Imperial Kiln at Jingdezhen between 1728 and 1756. Tang Ying was commissioned by the emperor Qianlong (r.1736-1795) in 1743 to write textual explanations to an album that had been executed by a court painter.[21] Of this album, the techniques of making enamelled porcelain were strongly emphasised by Tang Ying. He described in detail how enamel colours were painted and fired. Given the fact that this album was reprinted in the following decades in the Jiangxi provincial

[20] For the circulation of scientific texts, see Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China 1550-1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp.16-23.

[21] For the full description in Chinese, see Zhu Yan, *Taoshuo* [The book of porcelain] (Explanatory from Du Bin) (Jinan, 2010). For English version, see 'Tang Ying's annotations for The Twenty Illustrations of the Manufacture of Porcelain' translated and with comments by S. W. Bushell, reprinted together with historical prints and contemporary photographs of porcelain-making in Robert Tichane, *Ching-Te-Chen: Views of a Porcelain City* (New York: New York State Inst. for Glaze Research, 1983), pp.131-70. Yu Peijin, 'Taoye tuce suojian Qianlong de lixiang guanyao' [The ideal imperial ware from Explanations of Illustrations on porcelain production], *Gugong xueshu jikan* [Quarterly Journal of National Palace Museum], 30, 3(2013), pp.185-237. Ellen Huang has used this source to demonstrate how text and visual images on porcelain manufacture were circulated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 'From the Imperial Court to the International Art Market: Jingdezhen Porcelain Production as Global Visual Culture', *Journal of World History*, 23, 1(2012), pp.115-145.

gazetteer, as well as in other monographs on porcelain,[22] such emphases stimulated a very distinctive character of the eighteenth-century China's consumer's taste, as importance was given to technology and techniques.

The solidity of the material combined with sophisticated craftsmanship together makes a piece of enamelled porcelain that attracts the very attention of a contemporary Chinese consumers. With bright colours at their disposal, Chinese potters and painters executed their skills in a more sophisticated way. The painter enjoyed greater choice in using enamels than those in previous times. Because of the new enamel, the style of painting on porcelain also experienced changes. Rosemary E. Scott, used examples from the Percival David Collection to demonstrate that the new enamels of the Yongzheng period created a boneless effect on porcelain, which was different from previous periods.[23] 'Boneless' is a term to describe a style of Chinese painting. It means that there are no outlines; brush strokes are made in either ink or colour, but each stroke produces an object or a part of one. The form of the subject painted is achieved entirely through the free spirited and spontaneous execution of brush strokes without first sketching or outlining. For example, the new rose enamel gives a translucent red tone, and the opaque white could be used as a ground to be overlaid by another colour. A detail from a large dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows the rose enamel mixed with white to produce pastel pink, shaded and outlined in a slightly darker tone. (Figure 3-2) Scott did not mention the nature of porcelain, as

[22] Tang Ying's *Taoye tushuo* was not only reproduced in the Jiangxi provincial Gazetteer, but also in *Wenfang sikao* (1778), the *Fuliang xianzhi* (*Fuliang County Gazetteer*) (1783), and as mentioned above, in *Tao Shuo* (1774). Because it was included in the *Tao Shuo*, it was also translated into English and published as a separate chapter in Stephen Bushell's monumental *Oriental Ceramic Art* (London, 1896) and *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* (London, 1910).

[23] Rosemary E. Scott, '18th century over-glaze enamels: the influence of technologies development on painting style' in Rosemary E. Scott and Graham Hutt (eds.), *Style in the East Asian Tradition Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia No.14* (London: SOAS, 1987), p.164.

three dimensional objects can create a more vivid scene of flowers and animals. Innovations and adaptations of other designs in three-dimensional porcelain, forming of the product and the application of a two-dimensional image, were so effective in establishing the quality of fine porcelains.

Figure 3-2 Porcelain painted in over-glaze enamels.*c.*1723-1735, Diameter: 15.7 cm
Photo Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, museum number: 1991 c-1855.

Designs were drawn from other materials, such as embroidery and Chinese paintings, but enamelled porcelain allowed the pattern to be a more recognisable and more strongly coloured version. Figure 3-3 shows a painting from Giuseppe Castiglione, depicting flowers and a butterfly. The richness of the colours and details

provide viewers with a vivid scene.[24] A similar design has been placed on porcelain (Figure 3-4). The three dimensions of a piece of porcelain bowl made the design even more vivid and realistic. The transmission of technological expertise was created both in realism and decoration.

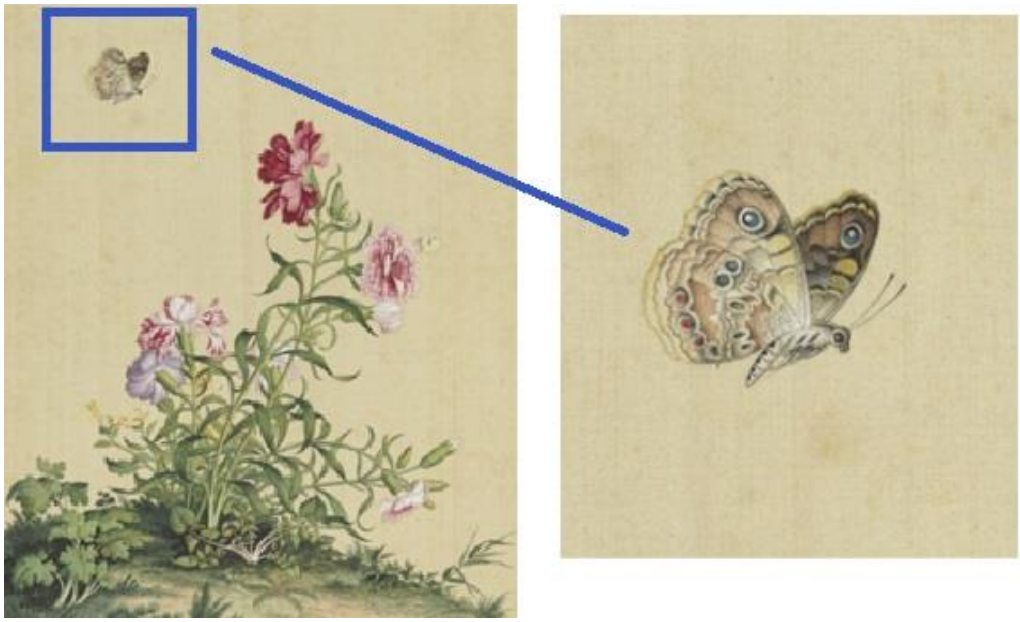

Figure 3-3 Immortal Blossoms in an Everlasting Spring.
Album Leaf, ink and colours on silk, Lang Shining 郎世宁 (Giuseppe Castiglione, 1688-1766), Qing dynasty, Dimensions: 33.3 x 27.8 cm.
Photo Courtesy of the National Palace Museum.

[24] Giuseppe Castiglione's bird-and-flower painting is marked by its difference from traditional Chinese methods. Forms often consist of shapes gradually built up with very few of the outlines normally seen in Chinese painting. The year 2015 marks the tricentennial of Giuseppe Castiglione's arrival in China and the ninetieth anniversary of the National Palace Museum. It has held an exhibition *Portrayals form a Brush Divine: A special Exhibition on the tricentennial of Giuseppe Castiglione's arrival in China*. See: http://theme.npm.edu.tw/exh104/giuseppecastiglione/en/index.html#main, accessed on 9 December, 2015.

Figure 3-4 Bowl enamelled with Butterfly medallions.
Yongzheng period (1723-1735). Height: 6.8cm; Diameter: 13.2 cm
Photo Courtesy of British Museum; Museum number: 1936,0413.26

### 3.4.2. Colour Matters

The other distinctive feature of enamelled porcelain was the importance given to the surface of decorative objects, the colours and the design patterns which were associated with ‘foreign’. From the late seventeenth century onwards, the increasing trade between China and Western countries brought various foreign goods to China.

*The Imperial Workshops Archives* contain detailed information on foreign products that were imported to the court and those made in the workshops under the supervisions of Jesuit Missionaries.[25] The preference of foreign goods in the court was believed to promote a fashion of prizing foreign goods in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries China.[26] The most obvious feature of utensils and household items imported to China was the various colours.

The list below is from *Yue haiguan zhi* (History of the Guangdong Customs,粤海关志) written by Cantonese scholar Liang Tingnan 梁廷楠 and first published in 1839.[27] This list is of imported goods from Western countries via Canton during the eighteenth century, showing goods in different materials and in various colours.[28] Liang has listed goods that have been taxed via Canton Customs during the eighteenth century, gold and silver utensils of different colours, Figure 3-5 shows the original text:

> Enamels, enamels of different colours;
>
> Bronze and tin utensils, bronze utensils of different colours;
>
> Iron utensils, iron utensils of different colours;
>
> Wood utensils, bamboo and wood utensils of different colours;
>
> Precious toys of different colours;
>
> Stone utensils of different colours;

[25] Catherine Pagani, 'Europe in Asia: The Impact of Western Art and Technology in China' in Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (eds.), *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800* (London, 2004), pp.302-309.
[26] Pagani, 'Europe in Asia', p.302; Zheng Yangwen, *China on the Sea: How the Maritime World Shaped Modern China* (Boston: Brill, 2012), pp.237-238.
[27] It was published in 1839, 30 volumes.
[28] Liang Tingnan, *Yuehaiguan zhi* [History of the Guangdong Customs], vol.9 (30 vols. Taibei, 1975). It is available online https://archive.org/details/02089235.cn, pp.82-83, accessed on 15 June 2016.

Spiral shell-made utensils, mounted utensils of different colours.

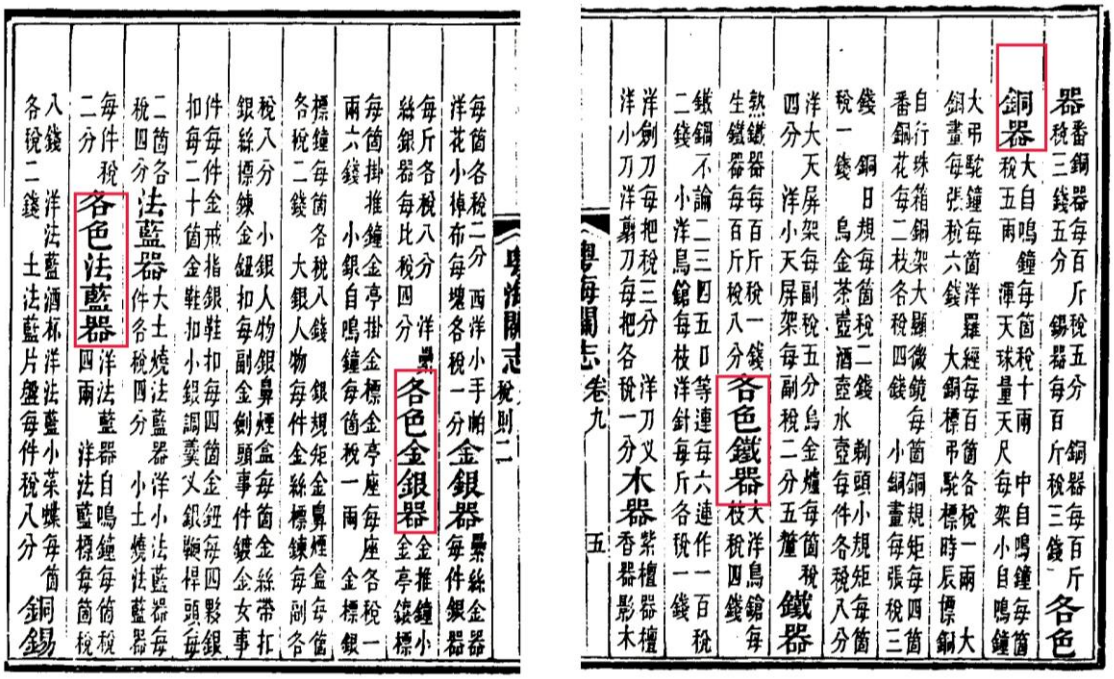

Figure 3-5 A list of imported goods from Western countries via Canton during the eighteenth century.
This shows goods in different materials of various colours. This list was published by Liang Tingnan in *Yue haiguan zhi* [History of the Guangdong Customs] in 1839, vol.9.
Source: https://archive.org/details/02089235.cn, pp.82-83, accessed on 15 June 2016.

This list is of great importance, as it shows that the most obvious characteristic of imported items is the colour. This is significant because this characteristic reflected the fact that the impact of fashion on the trade was colour. In terms of consuming enamelled porcelain, it was not just the painted subject which was of significance, but the 'foreign' enamel colours. Chapter 2 of this thesis shows that enamelled porcelain production has experienced an innovation during the 1720s, that new enamel colours were introduced to the porcelain painting decoration. It was these new enamels and new techniques that enjoyed esteem from contemporary consumers and connoisseurs of Chinese porcelain, because new enamel colours made porcelain decoration into

more shades of colour, which created a more vivid style of painting both in the landscape, animals and figures on porcelain.

One feature of enamelled porcelain that studies on porcelain consumption especially could not ignore was the importance of colour to eighteenth century Chinese consumers. Tang Ying of *Illustration of porcelain production* noted:

> Vases of white porcelain are painted in enamel colours in a style imitated from Western design, which is called '*yangcai'* (foreign colours). Clever artists of proven skills were selected to paint decoration.[29]

Lan Pu 蓝浦 in the *Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics* also commented:

> …foreign colours (porcelain decorated with new enamels) pieces: a new production of the European method of painting. Landscape, human figures, flower and plant, fur and feather –they are all done with marvellous delicacy and precision.[30]

Artists' painting on porcelain using new enamel colours enjoyed a much greater choice than artists in the previous period, not only of colours but also of ways to use those colours. This competitive spirit was expressed across the production, and proved to be influential in eighteenth century China. The wealthy middle class were eager to display the splendour, novelty and strangeness of Western objects in their homes, which they especially appreciated for their colours. Enamelled porcelain was painted with a new discipline and executed with a new precision of colours. The red, green, white, pink, yellow and many others shades combination and patterns made enamelled porcelain into ideal objects for display.

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[29] Tichane, *Ching-Te-Chen*, p.164.
[30] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu* [Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics] (Jiangxi,2004), p.102.

### 3.4.3. Association with 'Foreign Goods'

The third value of enamelled porcelain was the association with *xiyang* (foreign, 西洋). The term *xiyang*, with its foreign or European connotation, denoted scarcity and meant something superior and tasteful. Because of trade with Europe, eighteenth century China was increasingly associated with novel adaptations of Western decorative techniques and ideas, which found that the Qing court was an extreme example. Foreign missionaries and ships arrived and brought various kinds of exotic objects to the court, enamelled glass, enamelled coppers, clocks wine and other objects.

Chinese consumers of the seventeenth century were already familiar with foreign goods because of the trade between China and Southeast Asia. As Zheng Yangwen pointed out, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, goods from Southeast Asia already circulated in China, as observed by contemporary Chinese scholars.[31] When it comes to the eighteenth century, along with the arrival of Europeans and the East India Companies, goods imported from Europe increased both in variety and in quantity. According to contemporary customs records, textiles, garments, food, utensils of various materials, and household items and some other miscellaneous items were imported via Canton.[32]

As foreign trade continued through Canton Customs, foreign goods emerged as a special category and a specialised commerce of their own by the eighteenth century,

[31] For example, the work *Dong xi yang kao*, [an examination of the east and west oceans] written by the late Ming scholar Zhang xie (1574-1640), examined trade and profit in the Fujian area during the period, cited in Zheng Yanwen, *China on the Sea: How the Maritime World Shaped Modern China* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), p.213.
[32] Liang Tingnan, *Yue Haiguan Zhi*, vol. 9, pp.621– 47.

as more were brought in and more people were exposed to them and began to consume them. According to a local literato, Liang Zhangju, the popularity and exquisiteness of foreign imports reached its greatness in the nineteenth century. Liang Zhangju 梁章钜(1775-1849) remembered this vividly:

> The luxury and delicacy of its carvings and the beauty of the utensils …now are just commonplace. *Waiyang* [foreign] things are the most fashionable… Even utensils and decorations are called *yang* [foreign] copper, *yang* porcelain, *yang* paint, *yang* blue, *yang* red, *yang* paper, *yang* picture.[33]

*Yanghuo* (foreign things,洋货) was very popular among the literati and high-ranking officials and middle class in the eighteenth century. During the mid-eighteenth century, more *yanghuo* shops were opened.[34] These shops sold imported goods from other countries, mainly in the following categories: textiles and garments, food and sundried foods, the household items, ship-building materials, mixed materials of paper and metals.[35] In a painting commissioned by the Emperor Qianlong in 1757 and painted by the court artist Xu Yang 徐扬 depicts the shopping activities in Suzhou. Two shops were depicted as *yanghuo* stores in the city centre,

[33] Liang assembled his travelling notes, and comments on other contemporary literature. This was published in 1837. Liang Zhangju, *Tuian suibi* [Random Notes] (Taipei: 1971), vol.7, pp.371-372.
[34] Lai Huimin, 'Qing Qianlongchao neiwufu de pihuo yu jingcheng [The fashion of fur in the Qing court of the Qianlong period], *gugong xueshu jikan* [Research Quarterly of the National Palace Museum], 21, 1(2003), pp.101-134. 'Guaren haohuo: Qianlong di yu gusu fanhua' [Qianlong emperor's taste and the influence to local manufacture at Suzhou], *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* [The Journal of Academia Sinica], 50, 12(2005), pp.185-233.
[35] For a detailed list of imported goods, see Zheng, *China on the Sea*, pp.222-223.

one of them shown in Figure 3-6.[36] As indicated by the author in Figure 3-6 the shop sign reads *yanghuohang* (洋货行), translated literally as the 'stores for selling foreign goods'. The popularity of foreign goods has played a role in consumer culture, with those things associated with 'foreign' being desirable. With regard to this, enamelled porcelain, as products that produced in new enamels that originally came from foreign countries and the painting style as of 'European', were favoured for their taste.

[36] Xu Yang, a leading court painter of the Qianlong reign, originally from Suzhou, commissioned a painting by the emperor to paint a scroll on the city life of Suzhou. The work was completed in 1759, and entitled *Gusu fanhua tu* [Prosperous Suzhou]. Depicting the bustling urban life of Suzhou, it is a 1241-cm long hand scroll painting, now collected in Liaoning Provincial Museum. In 2013, the Victoria and Albert Museum held an exhibition entitled *Masterpieces of Chinese paintings: 700-1900* which featured this scroll as the highlight. I visited three times and have viewed this scroll with magnifier, and have been able to find at least two foreign stuff shops in the painting. In 2014, this painting was fully published with details, which also confirms that the two foreign shops were depicted in the painting: see Chen Jingsha, *A Masterpiece of Chinese Genre Painting: Suzhou's Golden Age* (UK: CYPI Press, 2014), pp.99-100.

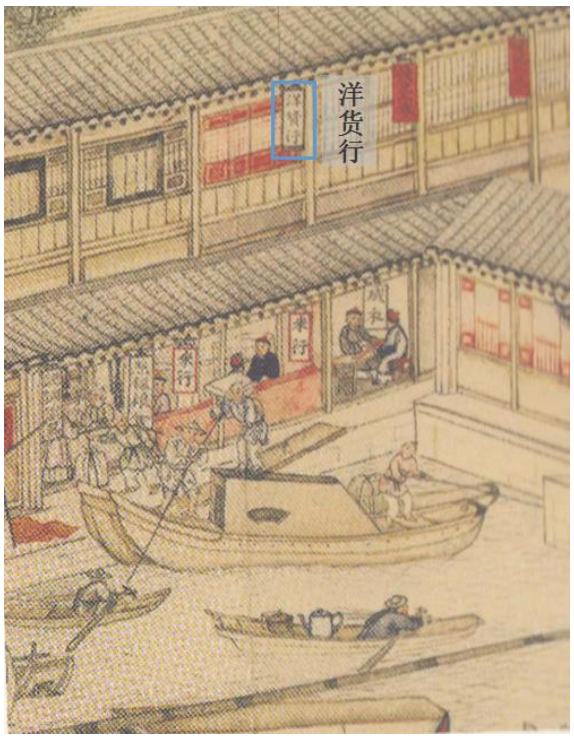


Figure 3-6 Detail from painting *Prosperous Suzhou* depicting a foreign goods store. Source: Chen Jingsha, *A Masterpiece of Chinese Genre Painting: Suzhou's Golden Age* (UK: CYPI Press, 2014), p.100.

This section shows the distinctive values of enamelled porcelain that were attractive to the eighteenth century Chinese consumers. It explains why enamelled porcelain, as a particular category of porcelain, grew in popularity in the eighteenth century. I will continue to demonstrate that enamelled porcelain was consumed widely in eighteenth-century China. It emerged as a special category of luxury items and a specialised commerce of its own.

## 3.5. Enamelled Porcelain Consumption in Eighteenth-Century China

One of the main reasons that fine porcelain became a category of item for collecting and decorating is the growth of wealth in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

(otherwise known as the late Ming period),[37] especially in the Jiangnan area. The Jiangnan area (Map 1) is a geographical area of China, referring to lands immediately to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, including the southern part of the Yangtze Delta.

[37] See Denis C. Twitchett, Frederick W. Mote (eds.), The *Cambridge History of China: Volume 8, The Ming Dynasty*, Part II, 1368-1644 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).


Map 1 Jiangnan area of Ming and Qing periods.
Source: Li Bozhong, *Agricultural Development in Jiangnan, 1620-1850* (New York, 1998), p.xviii.

During the late Ming period, the status of business and commerce was enhanced, and came to involve people of varying social backgrounds: nobility, officials, gentry

and common people.[38] The search for luxury goods occurred during a period of considerable economic prosperity and luxurious living for many in the cities who profited handsomely from an unprecedented level of economic growth, as well as from a great influx of new world silver brought to China by overseas consumers who used it to pay for Chinese-manufactured silks, porcelain and other goods that had captured the fancy of wealthy Europeans.[39]

The majority of rich inhabitants of the Jiangnan region based in the areas of Suzhou, Hangzhou, Nanjing and Nanchang where silk, cotton, paper and porcelain industries were located, were the most affluent in the whole country; wealthy merchants, officials, intellectuals and artisans lived in these areas, which became the cultural centres of the time. The rich often invested in collecting gold, silver and antiquities, as well as new luxury items of the latest fashion.[40] The role of objects in in the Ming period has been extensively addressed by Western scholars; of which the

[38] He Bing di, *The ladder of Success of Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1962), p.42; Tong Shuye, *Zhongguo shougongye shangye fazhanshi* [History of the development of Chinese Commercial and Handicraft Industry] (Jinan, 1981), p.255.

[39] Evelyn S. Rawski, 'Economic and Social Foundation of Later Imperial Culture' in David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan and Evelyn S. Rawski (eds.), *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), pp.3-4.

[40] For a very detailed analysis of luxurious consumption during the late Ming period in Chinese language, see Wu Renshu, *Pinwei shehua: wanming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu* [Taste of Luxury: Consumer Society and The Scholar-Literati Circle in the late Ming dynasty] (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan, 2007).

most influential works are from Craig Clunas and Timothy Brook.[41] Their works show how antiques and contemporary objects such as porcelain objects circulated through shops and with references to specific prices paid or offered, which antique ceramics were becoming very expensive.[42]

When it comes to the eighteenth century, the consumption of porcelain remained, to some extent, the same as in the late Ming period. Porcelain of past dynasties was regarded as antiques. The porcelain made in the contemporary period was seen as ware for daily use or as decorative works of art. However, Chinese consumers had a different perception of enamelled porcelain. As we will see, enamelled porcelain was desirable for eighteenth-century domestic consumers. It served a role in eighteenth-century Chinese society not only as a type of luxury object, but as a valuable material, because enamelled porcelain contained essential elements that distinguished themselves from other types of porcelain. I will argue in the following section that techniques and decorative colours became important for eighteenth-century Chinese consumers.

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[41] Craig Clunas has done extensive research on the Ming China, and he is also an active scholar related to museum exhibitions. He was co-curator of the exhibition '*Ming: 50 years that changed China 1400-1450*' in the British Museum between September 2014 and January 2015. This exhibition reconsidered the Ming China in the fifteenth century and its political and trade engagements with other parts of the world. See more from the exhibition catalogue, Craig Clunas and Jessica Harrison-Hall, (eds.), *Ming: 50 years that changed China* (London: British Museum, 2014). For studies from Craig Clunas, see, *Screen of Kings: Royal Art and Power in Ming China* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013); *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991 and 2004). Timothy Brook is a Canadian historian specializing in the study of China (sinology); His research includes *Mr. Selden's Map of China. Decoding the Secrets of a Vanished Cartographer* (New York: New York, Bloomsbury, 2013*; Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury; Toronto: Penguin; London: Profile, 2008); *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005); *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); 'Communications and Commerce' in Denis C. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, Part 2: 1368–1644* (Cambridge University Press, 1998),pp.579-707.

[42] Craig Clunas, 'The Cost of Ceramics and the Cost of Collecting Ceramics in the Ming Period' *Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong Bulletin*, 8 (1986-1988), pp.47-53.

As I have argued in the previous section, enamelled porcelain embodied three distinctive features that favoured eighteenth century Chinese consumers' taste. I shall continue to ask: to what extent, however, was enamelled porcelain consumed in the domestic market in eighteenth century China? To what extent can enamelled porcelain be considered as a 'luxury'? And what can social lives in China tell us about Qing consumer culture and society?

Discussions on luxury, luxury consumption and their impact on the eighteenth century have attracted global and economic historians alike. Luxury items were considered as consumption goods that had played a role in stimulating the growth of consumer revolution of eighteenth century England.[43] It was stated that 'the consumer revolution… clearly preceded the Industrial Revolution'.[44] Maxine Berg has traced the nature of luxury items, which were mainly imported goods from Asia that have stimulated the technological invention, as well as the economic growth of

[43] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982), pp.9-33. Over the past generation of scholarship, the history of luxury consumption and material culture has emerged as a rich subfield of European history. From Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough's ground breaking anthology, *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) to Daniel Roche's monumental *History of Everyday Things*: *The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1997 French ed., 2000 English trans.), scholars of consumption have deepened our understanding of modern European law, politics, art, and culture through detailed attention to the goods that mediated social relationships.

[44] Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p.15. Maxine Berg, 'Luxury, the Luxury Trades and the Roots of Industrial Growth', chap. 9, in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), pp.173-212.

the consumer society.[45] These works have been highly influential to studies on consumption in contemporary China.[46]

Unlike current studies that consider luxury goods as a general concept to explore the economic role in the society, my research focuses on a particular item, enamelled porcelain to explore what was luxury to eighteenth century China, and on what scale enamelled porcelain was consumed. Shelagh Vainker argued that paintings, antiques, bronzes and jades were consumed as luxuries, but not porcelain. She pointed out that porcelain was consumed because of the actual functions it was capable of performing.[47] As we will see from the evidence, enamelled porcelain was in fact treated as a desirable item, along with other objects. More importantly, it will be shown in the following section that the perception of enamelled porcelain changes through space and time, shifting from desirable luxury items to daily use of the product. It will also be shown that such a shift was associated with geographic production and the distribution of enamelled porcelain.

As the previous chapter has shown, the production of enamelled porcelain before 1729 was in small scales at small workshops. As a result, enamelled porcelain was only available among the imperial court at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Because production was on a very small scale, the only access to these enamelled porcelains beyond the court was the gift from the emperor. For example, in 1724, the

[45] Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century' *Past and Present*, 182, 2(2004), pp.85-143; *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[46] For example, the Taiwanese historian, Wu Renshu, the author of *Pinwei shehua: wanming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu* [Taste of Luxury: Consumer Society and The Scholar-Literati Circle in the late Ming dynasty] acknowledged that works from Western scholars have inspired him and provide him much insights on the study of luxury consumption, Wu Renshu, *Pinwei shehua*, p.318.
[47] Vainker, 'Luxury or Not', pp.214-215.

emperor Yongzheng (r.1723-1735) gave two enamelled porcelain feather holders to Nian Gengyao 年羹尧[48] (1679-1726).

Later the same year, Nian received more gifts from the emperor, including five pairs of enamelled porcelain snuff bottles, two boxes of enamelled porcelain cups. In his memorial letter for the thankfulness to the emperor, Nian stated that these enamelled porcelains had 'brilliant colours…shine forth, more brilliant than embroidered tapestries worked with gold,' that 'their colours are clear and beautiful, and they are of exquisite and elegant shape. They truly are equal exquisite and beautiful to the best coloured wares of the previous period.'[49]

In terms of the period before 1728, it is clear that enamelled porcelain was a luxury intended for very few Chinese consumers, but I name them as non-accessible items, because they could only be accessed via the imperial court. For consumers outside the imperial family, it was only possible to get enamelled porcelain as a bestowed gift from the emperor.

However, from 1728 onwards, we see that enamelled porcelain reached wider consumption. Examining a broader range of sources including literary observations shows that enamelled porcelain found its way onto the market in the early 1730s. According to a memorial on 19 October 1734, Haiwang 海望 (?-1755) the supervisor of the Imperial Household Department reported that yellow enamelled porcelain snuffboxes[50] and other utensils numbering roughly ten pieces in total were sold in

[48] Nian was a Chinese military commander of the Yongzheng period.
[49] National Palace Museum, *Gongzhong dangan zouzhe yilan yongzheng chao* [The memorial of Yongzheng Reign], vol.1 (Taipei, 1982), p.362.
[50] In the eighteen century China, snuffboxes were distinctively Qing products consumed by the elites. Carrying on the person a small bottle made of precious materials such as jade, enamelled porcelain, glass, and so forth was fashionable in the Qing period. Susan Naquin and Evelyn Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London, 1987), p.75.

Beijing. He requested that the emperor ban these activities because the colour yellow can only be used at court. The emperor agreed with his request.[51] This record clearly shows that enamelled porcelain was consumed outside the court, albeit in small numbers. It proves, however, that enamelled porcelain was not exclusively circulated at court. This is a fact that current scholarship and connoisseurship has neglected for decades.

Moreover, along with the expansion of production, the consumption of enamelled porcelain in this period expanded, as I will show below. With Tang Ying and Nian Xiyao's supervision and expertise, the Imperial Kiln produced enamelled porcelain of many colours such as black ink colour, purple and foreign red and so forth. Many private kilns would have imitated the imperial enamelled porcelain during this period, although the enamelled porcelain produced in the Imperial Kiln was not allowed to enter the commercial stream. *Jingdezhen taolu* recorded:

> The colourful porcelain (enamelled porcelain) was available but they were not popular initially. During the first decade of the Qianlong reign, 1740-1750, it became quite popular and many private kilns produced this type of porcelain. They do not use traditional ways to fire, rather they used bricks to build up a kiln and it looks like a well. We call these private kilns.[52]

[51] *The Imperial Workshops Archives*, vol.4, p.652. The earliest ancestor of the Chinese was the 'Yellow Emperor'. Chinese culture originated on the 'Yellow Plateau,' the cradle of the Chinese nation was the 'Yellow River,' and descendants of the Yan Emperor and the Yellow Emperor have 'yellow skin.' Since ancient times, the colour yellow has been inseparably linked with Chinese traditional culture. For a general description of the meaning of colours in Chinese culture, see, Dorothy Perkins *Encyclopaedia of China: History and Culture* (second edition, New York: Routledge, 2013), pp.96-97.

[52] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu*, p.109.

It is noteworthy that from the late seventeenth century onwards, the production of porcelain for the court (imperial kilns) and for the ordinary consumers (private kilns) were mixed together, which means craftsmen could be circulated among different kilns. Some porcelain pieces from private kilns could also be chosen to supply the court. It is also important to note that porcelain from imperial kilns could be sold to ordinary consumers. In previous periods, all porcelain in the imperial kilns had to be sent to the court, although in various qualities. In the Ming dynasty, the pieces that were not selected for the court (called 'rejects' or 'seconds') would be smashed in the kiln.[53] Archaeologists found that during the Ming dynasty, those porcelain items produced in the imperial kiln but not of top quality had been smashed in an appointed pit; sometimes a vase could be smashed into more than 100 shards. However, Qing emperors chose alternative ways that proved more economical. The consignment of 'seconds' were still ordered to be shipped to Beijing and stored in appointed warehouses in the Yongzheng reign.[54] These 'seconds' were normally used as gifts to officials or servants.[55] The emperor Qianlong had another way of dealing with these 'seconds'. He commanded the official Tang Ying to sell these pieces locally. Tang Ying tried to argue with Emperor Qianlong:

> Even the porcelain is not in best quality, but they are still imperial wares with reign mark and could be used as gifts to the guests. If there are available to the folks, they will immediately imitate and produce the same type in an even larger number to make profits.[56]

[53] Wang Guangyao, *Zhongguo gudai guanyao zhidu* [The history of Imperial Kiln] (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2004), pp.195-200.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] *The Imperial Workshops Archives*, vol. 10, p.650.

As a result, he sent all the pieces to Beijing as usual. The emperor Qianlong again decreed: 'I've heard that the imperial design was used such as yellow dragon with five claws. They are all minor issues and it is nothing.'[57]

The increasing availability of imperial wares in the open market of the second half the eighteenth century allowed private kilns to adapt the design and style of the court, which was soon accepted and appreciated in urban areas. This brought about a vast expansion of trans-regional trade and opened up new internal markets for enamelled porcelain producers. Enamelled porcelain from Jingdezhen began to appear all over China as the existing trade routes were extended. There were twenty specialists' shops of fine porcelain in Jingdezhen at this time.[58]

According to another historical record, merchants purchased fine enamelled porcelain, especially those decorated with a Chinese woman. (Figure 3-7) This type of porcelain was commented on as being 'painted in a Western style – exquisite and beautiful; it is an extremely precious and rare object.'[59]

[57] The National Palace Museum, *Gongzhong dangan zouzhe yilan Qianlong chao* [The memorial of Qianlong Reign], vol.5 (Taipei, 1982), p.435.
[58] Michael Dillon, 'Transport and Marketing in the Development of the Jingdezhen Porcelain Industry During the Ming and Qing Dynasties' *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* vol.35 (3), 1992, pp.278-290.
[59] Ji Yuansou, *Tao Ya* [The elegance of porcelain], 2 volumes (Beijing, 1918), vol.2, p.15.

Figure 3-7 Pair of enamelled dishes with painting pattern of flower brocade and figures. Diameter: 13.5cm.
Photo Courtesy of National Palace Museum.

As has generally been established, during this period the social and economic development in the Jiangnan region was very high. The connections between Jingdezhen and other Jiangnan cities such as Suzhou, Yangzhou, Nanjing and Hangzhou were increasingly close as a result of the growing mobility of materials, merchants and artisans.[60] These cities became the main distribution centres of decorative arts. We see this, for example, in the writings of a contemporary writer who recorded the history of Yangzhou and his contemporaries in the city. Li Dou 李斗 (?-1817) has left a detailed description of the gathering of these displayed works of art, including various kinds of lacquer, inlaid furniture, large-scale jade carvings and painted enamels.[61]

[60] Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), p.70.
[61] Li Dou, *Yangzhou huafang lu* [Chronicle of the painted barques of Yangzhou], (Yangzhou,1984), pp.195-200. Work on Yangzhou in the Qing period, see Antonia Finnane, *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550-1850* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).

The expansion of such consumption resulted in increased distribution centres in the eighteenth century. Cities in the lower Yangzi river area became the main area of enamelled porcelain supply. In the painting *Gusufanhua* (Prosperous Suzhou 姑苏繁华图) mentioned above, there were seven porcelain shops.[62]

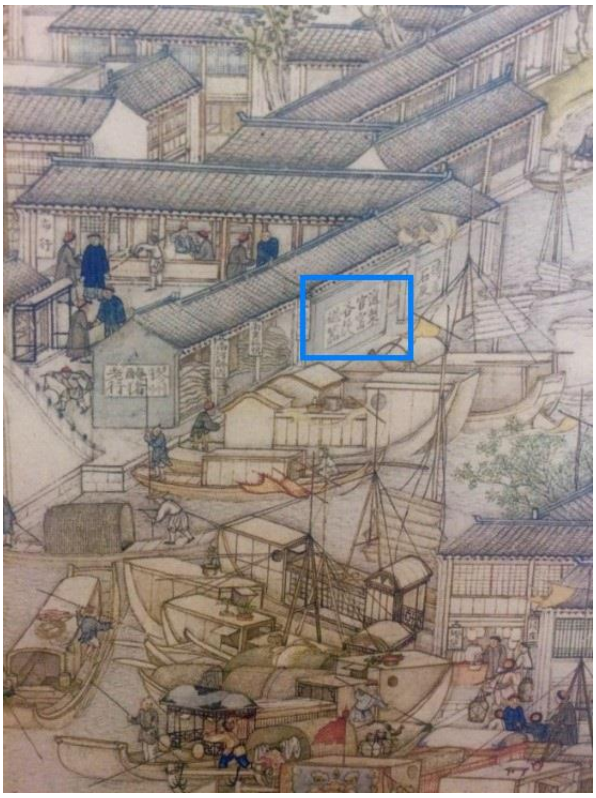


Figure 3-8 Detail of painting *Prosperous Suzhou* depicting porcelain manufacture's advertisement.
Source: Chen Jingsha, *A Masterpiece of Chinese Genre Painting: Suzhou's Golden Age* (UK: CYPI Press, 2014), p.94.

It was common for either men or women to commission new decorative objects or to collect them in this period, just as they did paintings and calligraphies. Studio

[62] I have observed seven porcelain shops in the city depicted in the painting; however, shops depicting in the painting were not yet a subject matter for scholars at this time. For this reason, I am unable to find other research on how many porcelain shops are actually depicted.

names on porcelain sometimes indicate a commission. Moreover, at this time, enamelled porcelain produced in the imperial kiln was not only shipped to the court, but was sold on the private market.

Figure 3-8 shows an advertisement that reads '选制官窑各款瓷器,' literally reads 'customized every kind of imperial porcelain'. This detail is of great importance in terms of issues relating to contemporary porcelain consumption. It firstly shows that porcelain made for the imperial court can be manufactured commercially; this again proves my argument that the term 'imperial ware' is not appropriate. This advertisement also indicates that contemporary Chinese consumers were influenced by the taste of the court. Second, it was advertised that imperial ware could be customised, which suggests the existence of a well-established market for imperial wares.

The most interesting and important observation we can make about the second half of the eighteenth century is that enamelled porcelain came to be part of everyday life. The perception of enamelled porcelain changed from decorative art into an object of daily use. Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-98), a celebrated poet and literary critic of the Qing Dynasty compiled a collection of recipes from his own villa in Nanjing. *Suiyuan* 随园 was Yuan Mei's own residence in Nanjing, which housed extraordinary collections of paintings, furniture, artefacts and porcelains. He believed that food should be served on fine plates and that these should be colourful imperial ware. The wine cups should also be made of rare precious materials, such as exquisite enamelled porcelain, jade, glass and rhinoceros horns.[63] As a contemporary well-known scholar

[63] Yuan Mei, *Suiyuan shidan* [A collection of recipes] (Beijing, 1984), p.13. For the bibliography of Yuan Mei, see Arthur Waley, *Yuan Mei: Eighteenth Century Chinese Poet* (Stanford University Press, 1956).

and official, Yuan Mei's lifestyle and his perception on enamelled porcelain represents the contemporary perception towards enamelled porcelain. He and many other consumers would buy or commission customised enamelled porcelain for banquet or for daily use, as shown in a painting from the third quarter of the eighteenth century. (Figure 3-9)

With a view to situating enamelled porcelain in the more historicized context of the eighteenth century China, the above section demonstrates enamelled porcelain consumption beyond the court. This discussion reveals how enamelled porcelain was perceived through time. The changing landscape of enamelled porcelain consumption and perception provides us with a dynamic that has not yet been explored, yet is crucial to the study of Chinese porcelain. The next section shows how enamelled porcelain was sold and the network of internal porcelain trade of eighteenth-century China.

Figure 3-9 Palace scenes with figures with details of a pair of enamelled porcelain. Third Quarter of the eighteenth Century. Anonymous painter, ink and colour on silk, dimension: 40 x 37 cm.
Photo Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

## 3.6. Distribution of Porcelain at Jingdezhen

From the mid-fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Jingdezhen became the dominant centre of porcelain production for the Chinese domestic market and global markets. Different groups of consumers from China and overseas had particular and often changing demands. Apart from its dominant role in producing porcelain, it was also a market town and a distribution centre for ceramics produced in other local regions. In order to satisfy their clients, Jingdezhen developed a sophisticated system of selling its products.

By far the most comprehensive study on the distribution and marketing of porcelain trade at Jingdezhen was conducted by Michael Dillon and Liang Miaotai. Michael Dillon has demonstrated the industrial production of Jingdezhen and the transportation, the distribution of porcelain in the domestic market and export markets from the Ming period till the 1970s.[64] Liang Miaotai made his contribution by demonstrating the economic relations between Jingdezhen and the surrounding markets during the Ming and Qing periods.[65]

This section will draw attention to their works, the primary sources, as well as some visual representations to show how porcelain was traded at Jingdezhen in the eighteenth century. Although most of the surviving primary resources concerning Jingdezhen's commercial history were of the late nineteenth century and early

[64] Michael Dillon, 'A history of the porcelain industry in Jingdezhen', (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1976); part of this thesis was published as follows: 'Jingdezhen as Ming industrial centre', *Ming Studies*, 1(1978), pp.37-44.

[65] Liang Miaotai, *Ming Qing Jingdezhen Chengshi Jingji Yanjiu* [The Economy of Jingdezhen during Ming and Qing periods] (2nd edn, Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin chubanshe, 2004).

twentieth century, they provide valuable information for this thesis, as the trade system remained unchanged from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century.

Apart from porcelain dealers who travel to Jingdezhen to trade, there were key institutions involving the trade of porcelain product in Jingdezhen: local porcelain brokers, trade guilds and the sellers. A brief process of purchasing porcelain in eighteenth-century Jingdezhen is illustrated in Figure 3-10.

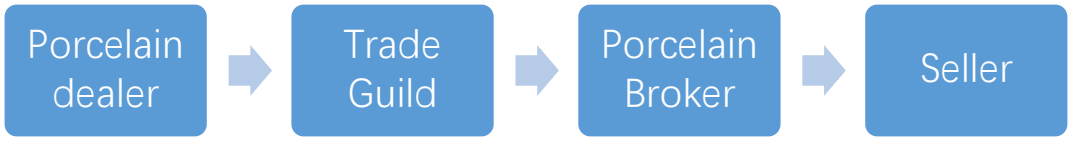



Figure 3-10 A brief trade process of porcelain in Jingdezhen during the eighteenth century. It shows the key institutions involved.
Source: Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu* [Records of Jingdezhen ceramics] (Jinan: Shandong huabao, 2004), p.112.

### 3.6.1. *Huiguan* (Trade guild, 会馆)

Some porcelain dealers established their associations *huiguan* (trade guild, 会馆) at Jingdezhen in order to provide better services for merchants from their original places. These trade guilds became important institutions of and for merchants who wanted to improve their competitive position as outsiders in regions where they were not so familiar with the local environment; trade guilds also served as locations for meeting

like-minded people from the same home regions and cherishing local customs. Common geographic origins thus played a vital economic and social role when merchants founded such a trade guild, with their characteristics of native-place associations established in connection with long-distance trade. For instance, a merchant from Canton would make contact with a broker who deals with his province. This broker would then send for samples and arrange the details of the sale, quantities and prices, and help with arranging transportation as well.[66]

According to a report in the early twentieth century, there were twenty-four trade guilds in Jingdezhen. Table 1 indicates their original locations and the time they were established. It shows that most of the trade guilds were established during the Qing dynasty and the number of the trade guilds outside Jiangxi was increasing. Merchants from other places who travelled to Jingdezhen brought goods such as textiles, grain, cotton, salt, medicine and tea to Jingdezhen and took porcelain on their way back. Jingdezhen also relied on the supply of raw materials from other places. For instance, the pigment cobalt blue was mainly supplied from Yunnan province, Southwest of China.[67] Among those trade guilds for other provinces, merchants from Anhui (Hui merchant) were the biggest group, as Anhui itself had four guilds trading porcelain from Jingdezhen to Anhui. Hui merchants also traded salt, textiles, cotton, medicines and grain.[68]

With economic development, these institutions also became gradually more and more specified according to different commercial areas. The trade guilds served as meeting places to gain information about market and price developments, about

[66] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu*, p.113.
[67] Liang Miaotai, *Ming Qing Jingdezhen*, p.434.
[68] Jingdezhen wenshi ziliao weiyuan hui (ed.), *Jingdezhen wenshi ziliao* [Selected documents on Jingdezhen's history] (Jiangxi, 1984), Volume 1, p.74.

changes in the demand for certain products, effective sale strategies, and of course about the undermining of one's own trade and business area by competing merchant groups and, last but not least, the government. Meanwhile, most trade guilds were directly linked with supra-regional and long-distance trade simultaneously; they seemingly remained, for the most part, domestic trade institutions.

| | **Guild Name** | **Original location** | **Establishing Time** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ruizhou | Jiangxi(Northwest) | Qing Dynasty |
| 2 | Rongcheng | Sichuan | Qing Dynasty |
| 3 | Huizhou | Anhui | Early Qing Dynasty |
| 4 | Qimen | Anhui | Early twentieth |
| 5 | Hunan | Hunan | Mid-Qing Dynasty |
| 6 | Fengxin | Jiangxi(Northwest) | Mid-Qing Dynasty |
| 7 | Hubei | Hubei | Qing Dynasty |
| 8 | Nanchang | Jiangxi | Mid-Qing Dynasty |
| 9 | Linjiang | Jilin | Mid-Qing Dynasty |
| 10 | Shanxi | Shanxi | Qing Dynasty |
| 11 | Jianchang | Jiangxi | Qing Dynasty |
| 12 | Ningguo | Anhui | Qing Dynasty |
| 13 | Suhu | Suzhou, Hangzhou | Early Qing Dynasty |
| 14 | Guangzhao | Canton(Guangdong) | Mid-Qing Dynasty |
| 15 | Ji An | Jiangxi(South) | Qing Dynasty |
| 16 | Raozhou | Jiangxi(Northeast) | Qing Dynasty |
| 17 | Fujian | Fujian | Qing Dynasty |
| 18 | Wuyuan | Anhui | Early Qing Dynasty |
| 19 | Fuzhou | Jiangxi(East) | Early Qing Dynasty |
| 20 | Shidai | Anhui(South) | Qing Dynasty |
| 21 | Fengcheng | Jiang(middle) | Early twentieth |
| 22 | Ningbo | Ningbo | Qing Dynasty |
| 23 | Hukou | Jiangxi(North) | Qing Dynasty |
| 24 | Duchang | Jiangxi | Qing Dynasty |

Table 1 Trade guilds in Jingdezhen during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Source: *Jingdezhen dimingzhi* [Gazetteer of geographical names] (Nanchang, 1988), pp.725-727, cited in Liang Miaotai, *Ming Qing Jingdezhen Chengshi Jingji Yanjiu* [The Economy of Jingdezhen during Ming and Qing periods] (2nd edn, Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin chubanshe, 2004), p.322.

Figure 3-11 A porcelain dealer's welcome banquet by his trade guild.
Album leaf, 19 x 20 cm.Watercolour on paper, *c*.1750s.
Photo Courtesy of Hong Kong Maritime Museum

Figure 3-11 shows a porcelain dealer being greeted by a local trade guild, presumably of the dealer's origin. The dealer would have lived in this trade guild until he had finished all the transactions in Jingdezhen. Members of the guild helped him to contact the porcelain brokers to make his contract.

### 3.6.2. Brokerage System

Jingdezhen was situated in a region characterised by merchants and a highly-developed trade network. From the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century the standard Chinese process for long distance trade involved brokers in-between the buyer and seller of goods. The trade was regulated by merchants from producing areas

and their final dispersal to local sellers throughout the area of distribution. It was the broker who arranged for the goods at market to be stored and then sold to the merchant, taking the goods elsewhere; at the other end of the trade route, it was a broker who acted as a middleman in the sale of the transport merchants' merchandise to shops. The broker guaranteed the quality and price of the goods being bought and sold.

Jingdezhen's markets were controlled by local brokers who had a licence from the government to act as intermediaries between the kiln owners and long distance merchants, who would bring in goods to sell and who would buy porcelain to sell elsewhere. There were about fifty brokerage firms organised into groups known as *cihang* (porcelain broker, 瓷行), with each porcelain broker dealing with buyers from the specific area during the late nineteenth century.[69] A *hang* or *bang* was originally set up by the government, and intended to be controlled by local people, assuring that market exchanges preceded smoothly and fairly. However, as commerce expanded, the brokerage system gradually extended to include private traders during the eighteenth century.[70] Long distance merchants who travelled to Jingdezhen would eventually have their own porcelain brokers. For example, among those fifty porcelain brokers of the late nineteenth century, thirty-six were porcelain brokers of Jiangxi province, six from Hubei, two from Canton, two from Anhui, one from Ningbo, one

[69] Liu Jinzao, *Qingchao xu wenxian tongkao* [Comprehensive Investigations Based on Literary and Documentary Sources] (1912), Volume 386, Section 'Industry and manufacture' cited in Liang, *Ming Qing Jingdezhen*, p.320; Jiangxi sheng qinggongye taoci yanjiu suo (ed.), *Jingdezhen taoci shigao* [Historical research of Jingdezhen porcelain] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian 1959), p.322: 7 from Hubei, 6 from Jiangxi, 2 from Manchuria, 2 from Zhejiang, 2 from Anhui, one each from Tianjin, Guangdong, Henan, Sichuan, Beijing, Jiangsu, Hunan.

[70] Christine Moll-Murata, 'Guilds and Apprenticeship in China and Europe: The Jingdezhen and European Ceramics Industries' in Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden (eds.), *Global Economic History Series: Technology, Skills and the Pre-Modern Economy in the East and the West* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2013), p.115.

from Nanjing. Among those brokers, those from Hubei, Canton and Nanjing ran a larger sale of porcelain trade than the others.[71]

The process of ordering and buying porcelain assisted by a porcelain broker was recorded in *Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics*.[72] This text is quoted at length because it reveals much about the process of purchase porcelain in Jingdezhen. As it reads:

> Dealers wishing to buy porcelain are introduced by porcelain brokers. Porcelain brokers will bring them to a seller. The price is discussed with the buyer and the seller, with the presence of the porcelain broker. With the agreement of both sides, a future purchase is arranged, with a fixed date and fixed price written on a ticket as proof, as they called 'porcelain ticket'. On the prearranged date, the buyer and the porcelain broker will come to the seller's warehouse or shop with the ticket to pack the ordered pieces. If any of the goods to be carried away have blemishes or wrong colours, the seller should provide an exchange service, the buyer will then receive another ticket for exchange, called an 'exchange ticket'. Both 'porcelain ticket' and 'exchange ticket' will be stamped with the name of the seller, the detailed information of the deal will be written down.[73]

Figure 3-12 shows a Canton merchant making his order to a seller with the presence of a porcelain broker. A red poster reads '早晚时价不同,日下一言为定' and states that 'Spoken words would be counted as an agreement even the later price may differ from the agreed one', in other words that the agreed prices are not subject to discussion later. There will be no actual receipts, as this is based on a verbal

[71] Liu, *Qingchao,* cited in Liang Miaotai, *Ming Qing Jingdezhen,* p.320.
[72] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen Taolu*, p.112.
[73] Ibid.

agreement. Other staff are seen using traditional Chinese business tools such as the abacus for calculating and steelyard for weighing silver currency. The buyer needs to pay the seller about twenty-five per cent of the whole price as a deposit.[74]

[74] Jiangxi sheng qinggongye taoci yanjiu suo, (ed.), *Jingdezhen taoci shigao* [Historical research of Jingdezhen Porcelain] (Beijing, 1959), p.320.

Figure 3-12 Placing orders, fixing the price.
Album leaf, 19 x 20 cm. Watercolour on paper, *c.*1750s.
Photo Courtesy of Hong Kong Maritime Museum

When the transaction was fully completed, the porcelain broker would also need to provide a packing and transportation service. To cover these services, the porcelain broker charged commission from the buyer. Hermann describes the activities of porcelain brokers in the 1920s, which specialised in dealing with buyers from the same

area. The broker charged 1 to 2 per cent for a new buyer, and in return, the buyer obtained the services of packers and carriers engaged by the house.[75]

### 3.6.3. Porcelain Market in Jingdezhen

There were two porcelain markets in Jingdezhen: porcelain shops and the retail market. Porcelain shops were wholesalers which were mainly selling porcelain in a large parcel. Most of the porcelain shops were located in 'Porcelain Street' (Figure 3-13) According to *Jingdezhen taolu*, Porcelain Street was located 500 meters away from Huangjiazhou 黄家洲 (Huang island), where the trade guild Suhu 苏湖 (Suzhou and Hangzhou) was located. The porcelain street was broad, about two or three hundred meters in length. Porcelain shops were lined on both sides, displaying every sort of vessel.[76]

In 2013, the area of Porcelain street, the porcelain market as well as the trade guilds of Jingdezhen were examined and investigated by the government, as circled in Map 2.[77] A program was launched to preserve and conserve the historical value of this area, Map 2, produced by the bureau of urban design of Jingdezhen. The yellow areas are marked as being of 'historical value', most of them being porcelain kilns.

[75] Hermamp Theodore, 'An Analysis of China's Export Handioraft Industries to 1930' (Ph.D thesis, University of Washington 1954), p.136, cited in Dillon, Dillon, 'Porcelain industry in Jingdezhen', p.131.
[76] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu,* p.113.
[77] I sincerely thank Professor Liang Hongsheng (Jiangxi Normal University) for sharing this information with me when I visited Nanchang and Jingdezhen in 2014.


Map 2　Historical and Cultural areas of Jingdezhen.

Source: Bureau of urban planning of Jingdezhen, *Jingdezhen lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua* [The conservation and protection of historical areas of Jingdezhen 2013-2030], no.2-4.

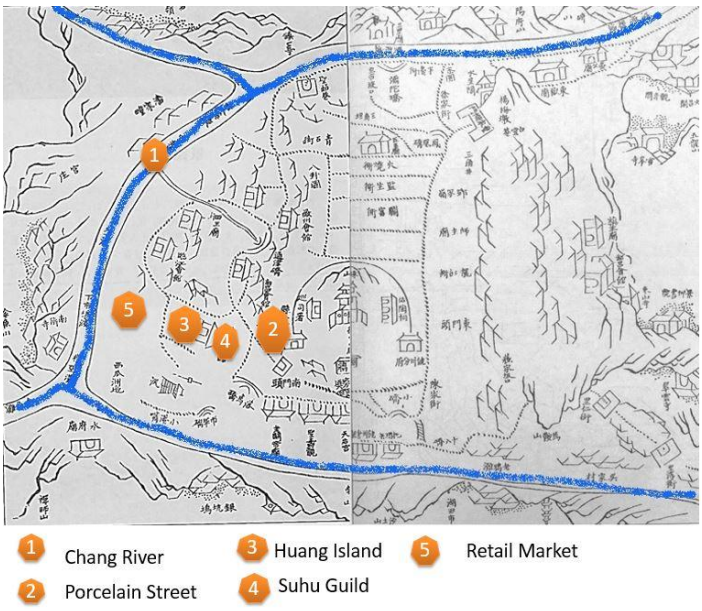



Figure 3-13 Locations of porcelain market at Jingdezhen during the early nineteenth century.

Source: Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu* [Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics] (Jinan：Shandong huabao, 2004), pp.2-3, the explanatory notes marks were made by the author of this thesis.

There were porcelain sellers who did not have a shop. They gathered around in a market near Huang Island and were very close to the Chang River, shown as no.5 in Figure 3-13. It was a very large open space about 500 hundred meters long and 500 hundred meters wide.[78] The place was entirely occupied by stalls selling porcelain. Everybody could come and go freely to buy, no matter whether the porcelain was fine and bad quality, or whether it was in sets or single pieces.[79] Figure 3-14 shows an example of a porcelain retailer.[80] Porcelains were placed on a red blanket, which was very convenient for the buyer to examine.

[78] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu,* p.113.
[79] Ibid.
[80] This image is from a set of painting on porcelain manufacture and trade. It was brought back from China circa 1755 by Colin Campbell, Director of the Swedish East India Company and purchased on 20 October1795 by the Consistorium Major for the Lund University for 58 silver kronen. Four leaves have been published and after a research by Belfrage the date of this set has revised to 1730 by E. Belfrage. 'Chinese Watercolours from the 18th Century Illustrating Porcelain Manufacture,' *International Association of Bibliophiles XV Congress Copenhagen Transactions,* 1987, pp.20-26. I give my thanks to Jimmy Nilsson (librarian), thanks to him, I have access to the digital collection.

Figure 3-14 An example of porcelain retailers in Jingdezhen.
Gouache on paper, 41 x 31 cm, *c.*1730s.
Source: Digital collection of the Library of Lund University http://bilder.ub.lu.se/application/index.cfm?search=fulltext&argument=lund&collection=7, accessed on 9 September 2015.

Apart from porcelain shops and these retailers, there were also porcelain peddlers who travelled to the town and found chances to deal.[81] Figure 3-15 shows a peddler carrying a basket of porcelain pieces, while a buyer was examining the quality of one piece.[82] As is stated in *Jingdezhen taolu:*

> Small peddlers also came to the town; they were called 'Island basket carriers' 提洲篮者.They usually carried large baskets with all sorts of porcelain that they had purchased directly from the potters. They also gathered around to Huang Island for chances to sell their pieces. Sometimes their porcelains were of fine quality.[83]

[81] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu*, p.113.
[82] This is a leaf from an album painting on porcelain manufacture of the eighteenth century, collected in Bibliothèque nationale de France. It has fifty leaves. This album has been realised online from 29/06/2014, see, http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40358242f
[83] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu*, p.113.

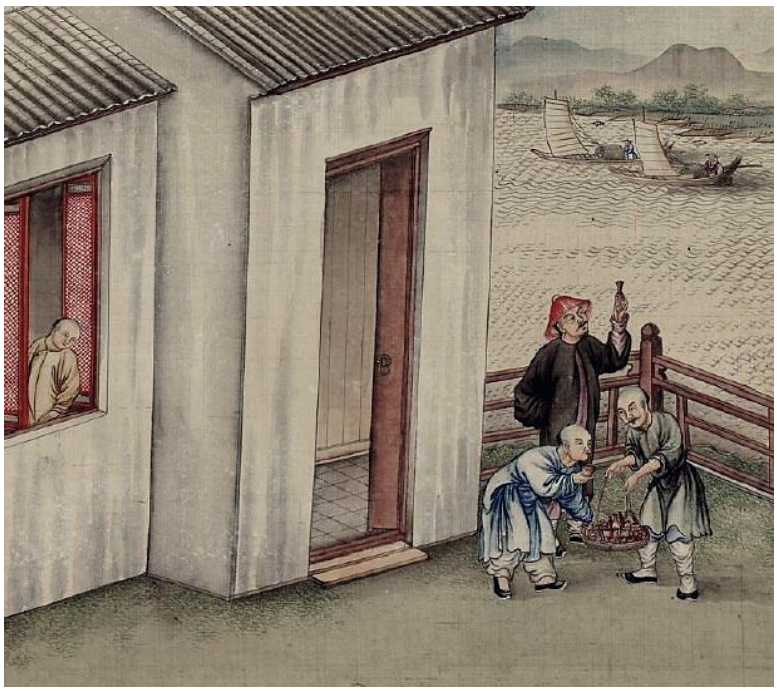


Figure 3-15 A peddler was selling porcelain.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, *c.*1730-50s, Watercolour on silk.
Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France digital collection:
http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40358242f, accessed on 9 September, 2015.

### 3.6.4. Routes of Porcelain Transportation

The relative ease of transportation on the Chang River and its tributaries was a key circumstance in the successful development of the porcelain industry in Jingdezhen. Despite Jingdezhen's location in the remote corner of Jiangxi province, these boats and ships managed to transport huge volumes of ceramics to domestic markets as far away as Beijing, as well as to different seaports for shipping overseas.

The porcelain street and the market were set up along the Chang River. All Jingdezhen ceramics began their long journeys on the Chang River loaded on small

river boats.[84] Along the bank there were many boat-men loading porcelain.[85] This method remained to be used during the early twentieth century. The boat can take up to seven persons.[86] The Chang River is connected with Poyang Lake 鄱阳湖, with a shallow waterway of ninety kilometres. It is the only waterway that connects Jingdezhen to other places.

[84] Jiangxi sheng qinggongye taoci yanjiu suo, *Jingdezhen taoci shigao*, p.321.
[85] Lan, *Jingdezhen taolu*, p.113.
[86] Jiangxi sheng qinggongye taoci yanjiu suo, *Jingdezhen taoci shigao*, p.321.


Map 3 Water transportation routes of Jingdezhen porcelain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
Source: Sten Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage, 2007), p.65.

The journey took up to two days from Jingdezhen to Poyang Lake, and small boats were transferred to larger boats that proceeded through the lake into Yangzi River 长江.[87] The journey from Jingdezhen to the Yangzi River took about a week in spring and summer, with the river full, but during the winter low water period, a

[87] Jiangxi sheng qinggongye taoci yanjiu suo, *Jingdezhen taoci shigao*, p.321.

further transfer was often necessary at Longkou at the mouth of the lake, thirty kilometres away from Poyang Lake.[88] Map 3 shows that from Poyang Lake, some of the boats followed the Grand Canal and its associated waterways north to reach Beijing. This route was also used by the transportation of 'imperial wares' to the court during the eighteenth century.[89] Other boats went south on the Grand Canal to reach Hangzhou. Other rivers and waterways coupled with some overland transport allowed porcelain cargoes to reach such seaports in Fujian province, Zhejiang province and Guangdong province.

The most cumbersome but frequently used route in the seventeen and eighteenth centuries ran from Jingdezhen to Guangzhou (Canton) in southern China. This route began in Poyang Lake and proceeded up the Gan River 贛江 to Nanchang 南昌, as marked by the author in Map 3. Re-loaded onto smaller river boats, the porcelain cargo would then continue upstream to Ganzhou 贛州. Continuing on smaller rivers, the cargo boats eventually reached the southern border of Jiangxi province and Guangdong provinces. When they reached the town, Dayu 大庾, at the southern border line of Jiangxi province, they needed to cross the Mount Meiling to enter Guangdong province. Here the porcelain had to be hand carried over the Meiling Pass (it was also called Yuling Pass), a stretch of some 30 kilometres that reached about 275 meters above sea level.[90]

[88] Jiang Siqing, *Jingdezhen ciye shi* [History of the Porcelain Industry] (Fuliang county, 1936), p.42.
[89] Qiuli, 'Qing zhonghouqi Jingdezhen dayun chuanban ciqi jiejing xianlu de kaocha' [The Investigation on Transport Route of Jingdezhen Imperial Porcelain to Beijing during Mid and Late Qing dynasty] (MA dissertation, Jingdezhen Ceramic Institute, 2013). p.15.
[90] Sten Sjostrand and Sharipah Lok Lok bt. Syed Idrus, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage, 2007), p.64.

Mount Meiling stands between two rivers and marks the boundary lines of Jiangxi and Guangdong provinces. For 900 years, Meiling Pass was one of the busiest thoroughfares in the country, especially in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Chinese and foreign merchants, diplomats and missionaries from Southeast Asia and Europe would arrive at Canton, then continued their journey north on this key route. On the return journey, they took the same route in the reverse direction.[91]

Goods coming into Guangdong and out of Guangdong were transferred over this same pass. It took a whole day to cross it. Travellers crossed on horsebacks or in bamboo chairs and the merchandise is transported by carriers. The entire journey over it being made through rocky terrain and covered with forests, bamboo chairs were the most useful and convenient tools for merchants.[92] Armed with a sunshade, Chinese merchants were carried over the pass in a bamboo chair. Figure 3-16 shows a scene of transporting porcelain across the Meiling Pass. It took four carriers to carry each of the large barrels containing porcelain pieces, while there was also some other porcelain packed in straw matting. Each porter was said to have carried 160 French pounds ten miles in a day, and as they were paid per pound, they carried as much as they possibly could.[93] They soon arrived in Nanxiong 南雄, the town at the southern end of the pass, where the goods were once again loaded onto small boats that navigated the winding narrow upper reaches of the Bei Jiang River 北江河 before reaching Guangzhou. The journey from Jingdezhen to Canton, about 400 miles, took in total approximately twenty-five days. According to Father Bouvet, who made

[91] Zhou Wenying, et al., *Jiangxi Wenhua* [Jiangxi Culture] (Shenyang, 1993), pp.12-13.
[92] Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *A description of the empire of China and Chinese-Tartary, together with the kingdoms of Korea, and Tibet: containing the geography and history*, 2 volumes. (London, 1738), vol.1, p.266.
[93] Ibid. p.267.

exactly the same journey from Nanchang to Canton in 1693, as envoy of Emperor Kangxi, it took him twenty days.[94] If we add four to five days for the journey from Jingdezhen to Nanchang, this makes a total of twenty-five days travelling time from Jingdezhen to Canton.

Figure 3-16 A porcelain dealer and his porters are crossing the Meiling Pass. Album leaf, watercolours, mid-eighteenth century.
Source: Walter August Staehelin (Author), Michael Bullock (Translator) The Book of Porcelain: Manufacture, Transport and Sale of Export Porcelain in China During the 18th Century (London, 1966), plate 29.

[94] Du Halde, *A description of the empire of China*, vol.1, pp.66-67.

## 3.7. Conclusion

The chapter has shown the domestic consumption of enamelled porcelain during the eighteenth century. Sections 2, 3, and 4 of this chapter have examined studies on porcelain consumption in the domestic market. These sections together have argued that identifying enamelled porcelain either as 'imperial' or 'export' items is problematic. Section 5 has shown a brief history of porcelain consumption prior to the eighteenth century. Section 6 has demonstrated the distinctive values of enamelled porcelain. The skilful craftsmanship, the colours and association with 'foreign' were attractive to Chinese contemporary consumers. Based on available sources, section 7 has argued that enamelled porcelain was circulated widely in China's domestic market. Section 8 has provided a general trade pattern in Jingdezhen during the eighteenth century. Overall, by drawing on textual records and visual presentations, this chapter provided a history of enamelled porcelain consumption in domestic eighteenth-century China. It sheds light on our understanding of how porcelain was actually traded within Qing Empire and, more importantly, seeks to prove that enamelled porcelain was not only consumed by the imperial court or the export market, but it found its way onto the domestic market.

# CHAPTER 4. Early Eighteenth-century EEIC Porcelain Trade in Canton 1729-*c.*1740

## 4.1. Introduction

The innovation of applying new enamel colours to porcelain only took place within a short period, and came to dominate porcelain consumption in the later period, both in China and beyond. This change had a significant impact on the Chinese porcelain trade, not only in manufacturing sites but also the trade port of Canton. This chapter examines the trade of enamelled porcelain from 1729, when it first appeared in the EEIC records. The period from 1729 towards the end of the 1730s was a time of growing interest in enamelled porcelain from both the EEIC Company and private trade. Of this period, enamelled porcelain was sold and purchased as a new type of porcelain product that reflected the latest fashion and design which created a niche market at Canton.

In terms of scholarship on Chinese porcelain trade, as I have shown in Chapter 1 of this thesis, there have been many versions of history produced regarding the specific aspects of the trade of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These studies are very diverse in their focus, but most of them can be separated into three basic categories: first, literature that focuses on collections from museum and collectors to examine exchanges of culture and design; second, literature that focuses on one ethnic group or company such as the English, Americans or Dutch; and third, literature that

focuses on Canton Hong merchants.[1] Studies on the porcelain itself served a very important role in the field of material culture, and this role was expended on a global scale into so-called global culture. Studies on trade helped economic historians to demonstrate how the East India Company and its trade with Asia stimulated economic growth in Europe.

As a result, we know a great deal about Chinese export porcelain from curators, collectors and dealers in terms of their decoration patterns, history of design; we also know much about the East India Company; we know a considerable amount about Canton Hong merchants and we also know that the trade itself brought significant impact in Europe. However, we do not know how a new type of porcelain affected the trade and traders; we do not know how small local operators, those who were not Hong merchants, played a role in the trade; and we do not know how the EEIC and its porcelain trade affected local port City-Canton. The answers lie in the overlapping area where issues of porcelain, the East India Company and merchants were involved, as shown in Figure 4-1. However, this overlapping, related and

[1] Hong means Guild, in Canton trade context, Hong merchants were referred to big dealers who have formed a guild which had the exclusive privilege of trading with foreigners. Based on the English East India Company's resources, Weng Eang Cheong's research His research brings out previously unknown aspects of each family such as their relationship with Hong merchants through inter- marrying, and the close connections that early merchants had with the regions of Quanzhou, Manila, Batavia, and Amoy. See Chen Guodong, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843* (Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1990); Weng Eang Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-western Trade, 1684-1798* (Curzon, 1995). More recently, based on the resources of the East India Companies including the Dutch, English, Danish, French, as well as Swedish, Paul A. Van Dyke has published a series of book on Canton merchants that attempt to reconstruct the day-to-day operations in Canton by focusing on the practices and procedures of the various groups involved in the trade. See Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton trade: life and enterprise on the China coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; London: Eurospan, 2005) and *Merchants of Canton and Macao: politics and strategies in eighteenth-century Chinese trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2011).

connected area remains unexplored and this results in a gap in studies mentioned above.


Figure 4-1 The composition of relation among different studies.

One crucial reason that the porcelain trade of the first half of the eighteenth century has been less studied than later periods is the limited selection of material. Art historians writing about Chinese export porcelain have mostly relied on objects. Historians of China's trade have meanwhile relied on official records and registers for calculating the volume of products on board individual ships.[2] There is a gap between these studies. Only by linking objects can the examination of archival records and visual resources reveal significantly less visible trade, and in doing so, we may have a better understanding of the porcelain trade and evaluate the importance of enamelled porcelain within that trade.

[2] Earl H. Pritchard, 'Private Trade between England and China in the Eighteenth-Century (1680-1833)', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1:1 (1957), pp.108-37. H.B. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company in China*, vol. V. Christian Koninckx made estimates in *The First and Second Charters of the Swedish East India Company (1733-1766)* (Kortrijk, 1980), p.267.

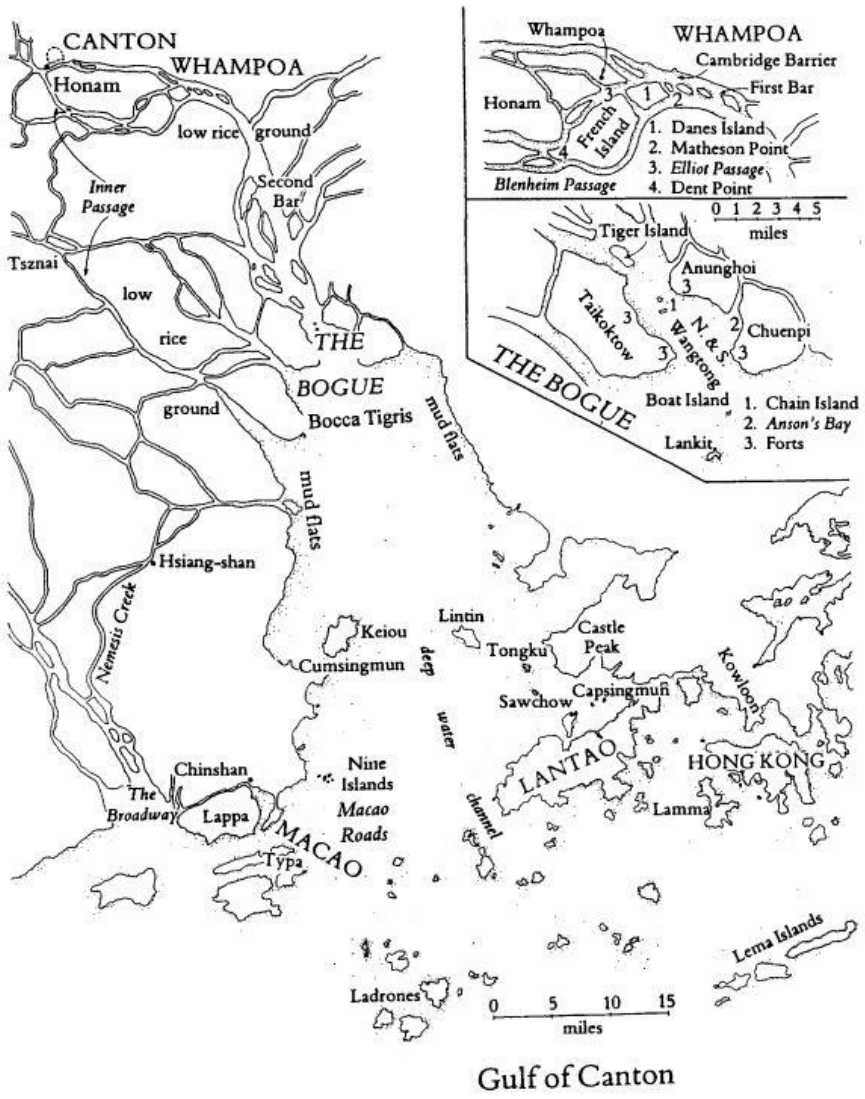
Through a careful examination of the EEIC factory records, this chapter argues that although enamelled porcelain was exported in small quantities compared to the bulk export ware of blue-and-white wares, it played a crucial role in the porcelain trade. Firstly, unlike other types of porcelain, it has more shades of colour, which provide an ideal medium for the transfer of scenes and subjects of design which could meet the latest fashion at the time, and therefore formed a key part in the patterns of global consumption. Secondly, the trade of enamelled porcelain brought a business opportunity for porcelain dealers who ran small businesses. This research bridges the gap between studies of art history, trade history and economic history. It sheds light on the less visible trade of enamelled porcelain, and addresses issues relating to local porcelain dealers outside the much better documented Hong merchants.

## 4.2. The EEIC's Porcelain Trade

### 4.2.1. The EEIC in Canton

Canton's natural advantages gave it a preferred position on the China coast for trade. The monsoon winds determined the access of trading ships to the south China coast. From June to September the winds blew from the southwest, allowing sailing ships to ride smoothly downwind across the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, and the South China Sea. When the monsoon ended in October, ships remained in the Canton region for a four-month trading season. The northeast monsoon winds beginning in January gave them smooth sailing back to India, and ultimately England. Ships started arriving at Canton in late June and July, but because the monsoon blew until October, ships

arrived quite late in August. The Pearl River leading from Macau to Canton was easily accessible on the monsoon winds to foreigners.




Map 4 The Gulf of Canton (The Pearl River Estuary).
Source: P. W. Fay, *The Opium War, 1840-1842* (Chapel Hill, N.C,1975), p.16.

In Canton, trade with foreigners was regulated by the guild of Hong merchants. Hong merchants were a group of dealers licensed by the local government at Canton, who have entitled to trade foreigners directly. This system was intended to regulate

prices and customs and bridge the gap between government officials and foreign traders, as well as collecting customs duties and fees for local government.[3] In theory, all the trade activities with foreign traders have to be conducted through licensed Hong merchants; nonetheless, as we will see, the trade in porcelain was handled by many other dealers who were not licenced merchants.

The trading took place in 'factories'. This is the reason that the EEIC records were named 'Factory Records'. The EEIC would rent a Hong house as their factory in each season in the early eighteenth century, as written in the factory record. Hong in Chinese is applied to 'place of business or shopping'. It could be a firm or a shop. This owner of the Hong house served as brokers and dealer between Chinese and foreign traders, usually called Hong merchants.[4] This title refers only to the owner of the house.

In 1751 the EEIC Court suggested the expediency of hiring a factory at Canton for a term of years, instead of pursuing the expensive practice of hiring one every season, and from about this time, the EEIC had a permanent factory at Canton.[5] Because the EEIC built its permanent factory in Canton, 'renting Hong house as their factory' was no longer mentioned in the records.

One of the earliest recorded views of the Canton waterfront was dated by Patrick Conner to 1750.[6] (Figure 4-2) This painting shows that it runs back from the

[3] Detailed introduction of Co-Hong can be found in Weng Eang Cheong, 'Introduction' *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684-1798* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), pp.1-26. Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press), pp.1-5.

[4] Peng Zeyi, 'Qingdai Guangdong yanghang zhidu de qiyuan'[The origin of the Canton Hong-merchant system in the Qing dynasty'] *Lishi yanjiu* [Historical Studies], 1(1957), p.21.

[5] East India Company, Great Britain, India Office, List of factory records of the late East India Company preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, London (London, 1897), p.xvi.

[6] Patrick Conner, *The China Trade 1600-1860* (Brighton: The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery & Museums, 1986), p.29.

waterfront immediately to the left of the English Factory. It is painted in detail so that we may confidently regard details of architecture, railings and flags as evidence. In this painting, next to the English Factory, there is a shop, judging it form the interior of the shop and the samples of porcelain; it is probably a porcelain shop. According to the material of Swedish resource, this shop was situated in one of the shopping streets in Canton: Hog Lane.[7] Hog Lane was one of the two shopping streets that existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[8]

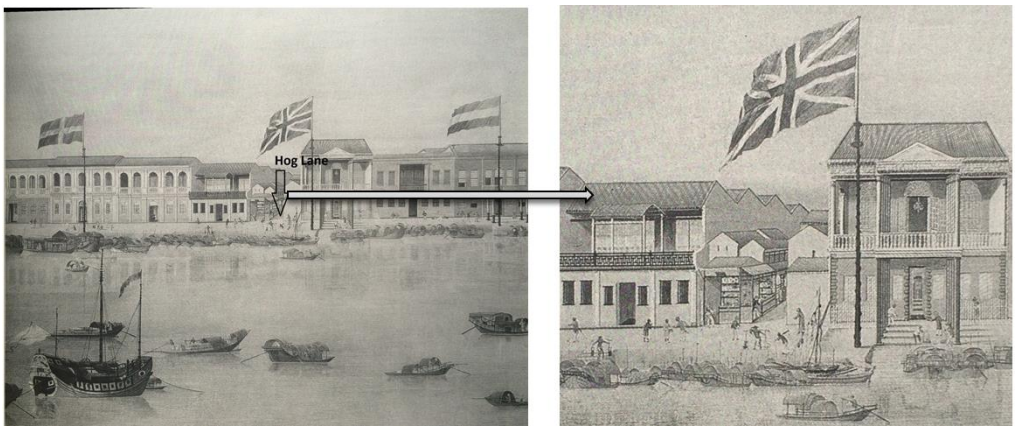



Figure 4-2 Canton: Swedish, British and Dutch Factories. *c.*1750.
Gouache on silk, 64 x 80 cm, Private Collection.
Source: Patrick Conner, *The China Trade 1600-1860* (Brighton: The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery Museums, 1986), p.29.

Eight and later thirteen trading posts were built in a row on the small island in European Style in the late eighteenth century.[9] In the 1760s, the Chinese government

[7] Hog Lane was called in Chinese 'dou lan jie'. Paul A. Van Dyke has illustrated the development of this street in the late eighteenth century. Where the name came from remained unclear because the lack of resources. Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Shopping Street in the Foreign Quarter at Canton 1760-1843', *Revista de Cultura,* 43(2013), pp.92-110. I would like to thank Professor Paul A. Van Dyke for his generosity of sharing this article to me.
[8] Dyke, 'The Shopping Street,' pp.92-110.
[9] Johnathan Farris, 'Thirteen Factories of Canton: An Architecture of Sino-Western Collaboration and Confrontation,*' Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum,* 14(2007), pp.66-83. In 1822, these factories were destroyed by fire and rebuilt in the same style.

confined these trading 'factories' to an area of about a thousand yards. [10] The trading post remained the primary centre for Western trade well into the mid-nineteenth century, called the Thirteen Factories.

### 4.2.2. The EEIC's Porcelain Trade

As mentioned above, the trade at Canton was conducted by Hong merchants. Nonetheless, the trade of porcelain enjoyed much freedom. When the system of the Hong guild was first established in 1721, thirteen articles were included in the code for regulating the trade in Canton that Chinese merchants were not allowed to trade with foreigners directly. Only guild member (Hong merchants) could deal with foreign traders. In the code, there was one regulation on 'China ware': 'Chinaware requiring technical knowledge, dealing in it was left free to all, but dealers must pay 30% to the guild, without regard to profit or loss.'[11] In other words, during the period before the 1760s, the Europeans maintained the freedom to trade with whomever they wished in porcelain trade, whether he was a Hong merchant or not.[12] Because of the relative free market of Chinese porcelain, the number of porcelain dealers was high. Unlike negotiating for tea and silk, the EEIC did not need to spend too much effort in bargaining with porcelain dealers, and the supply of porcelain was not frustrated as much as other commodities.

[10] D.F.Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese Export Porcelain Chine de Commande* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1974),p.63.
[11] Morse, *The chronicles*, vol.I, p.163.
[12] During the 1760s, another guild of Hong merchants was established Co-Hong, which affected the trade of porcelain significantly.

'China ware' was the name of Chinese porcelain in the EEIC trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The purchasing of 'China ware' was done both from Hong merchants and from specialist shops, which were to be found in the street as mentioned above. Official Company orders for porcelain were filled by Hong merchants. Because the EEIC Company needed porcelain in large quantities that sometimes only designed with only one or two patterns. Before the EEIC established their own factory in 1751, as soon as the EEIC ship arrived at Canton, they would rent a Hong merchant's warehouse as a 'factory' to conduct the trade, and they needed a large quantity of porcelain to load on the ground floor of the ship to provide ballast. Consequently, the Hong merchants who had capital would store large quantities of porcelain in standard shapes and repetitive design patterns in their warehouse before the trading season. These ready departure pieces were in high demand, and would be sold out quickly. The cargoes of several shipwrecks dating to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century attest to the growing commerce, in which thousands of mass-produced ceramics reached the European market.[13]

In private trade, however, supercargoes and ship's officers were permitted to deal directly with any of the shopkeepers whose stores lined the streets and alleys of the foreign-factory area. By 1715, ships were despatched yearly with a supercargo appointed to each ship. Their role was to look after the cargo on the ship and to manage commercial operations on shore in China. Because the EEIC did not depend solely on the purchase of the Company itself, but also allowed the East Indiamen who had salaries (a Captain in the first quarter of the eighteenth century could be paid £120 per

[13] A brief summary of the shipwrecks, see Luisa E. Mengoni, 'The Sino-European trade in ceramics: bulk export and special orders', in Lu Zhangshen, (eds.), *Passion for Porcelain: Masterpiece of Ceramics from the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 2012), pp.14-18.

year plus his free living), the East Indiamen were permitted to trade on their own account (known as Private Trade).[14]

It was quite difficult for the EEIC to get all the porcelain at one time. Although the instructions from the company were quite specific, noting the form and decoration, rarely could these orders be fulfilled exactly, as the range of forms, the supply and the price of porcelain available in Canton varied from year to year. For example, a record on 1 September 1723 shows how difficult it was for the EEIC to find the exact pieces they wanted. The EEIC's officers examined the Hong merchants for their stock 'China ware' but could not find enough quantity of the kind they wanted, and only Suqua could supply some.[15]

As for fine ware, this was sometimes even more difficult to obtain. There were limited supplies of the finest wares that the supercargo needed to contract them as soon as they arrived. For example, in 1750, the officer said:

> For several days past we have been looking over the Merchants' musters of China ware. We find it in general very indifferent as to fineness, and but very little choice, and though we have everywhere made complaints of it, they give us no hopes of its being better and another year, as they assume [to]us, they get but a very small profit with a great deal of trouble.[16]

There were other difficulties as well. The delivery of porcelain was often delayed by the heavy rains, whereas the making of porcelain needed sunshine to become dry. Complaints about the late delivery of the porcelain were frequent in the records. In

[14] David S.Howard, *A Tale of Three Cities: Canton, Shanghai & Hong Kong, Three Centuries of Sino-British Trade in the Decorative Arts* ( London: Sotheby's Publication, 1997),p.xiv.
[15] IOR/G/12/24, 1 September 1723.
[16] IOR/G/12/54, 24 September, 1750.

1728: 'We have had an abundance of rain here, yet in the Inland Provinces, they have scarcely had any…so that we are now obliged to stand still.'[17] They also needed to buy packing materials such as wooden chests. For example, officers once made a deal with a carpenter to make Chinaware chests and ordered him to make them as soon as possible.[18]

Accidents might also delay the shipment of 'China ware'. In 10 October 1723, the officer received a report that one of the EEIC boats sank on the way to board the ship Harfford, which carried fifty-six chests of 'China ware'. They worried about the breakage and sent for help immediately. Although they repacked the next day, some chests were damaged and were put in upside down in a hurry. In the end, the boatmen were punished as an example to all men for the future. [19]

However, despite all the operational difficulties and frustrations experienced at Canton, the EEIC porcelain trade with China increased steadily. By the 1700s the Dutch merchants faced competition from the British East India Company (founded 1600) whose presence in the Far East was growing stronger. It first cornered an equal share in the Chinese export market with the Dutch, and by the 1730s, it had attained trade supremacy.[20]

[17] IOR/G/12/27, 5 August, 1728.
[18] IOR/G/12/35, 30 July 1730.
[19] IOR/G/12/24, 20, 21 October, 1723.
[20] Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood, with additional contribution by Ts'ai Mei-fen and Zhang Fukang, *Science and Civilisation in China* Volume 5, Part 12, *Ceramic Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.745.

## 4.3. The EEIC's Enamelled Porcelain Trade 1729-*c.*1740

By the early 18th century, with the increasing fashion for tea drinking culture in Europe, there was a great demand for thin, delicate, translucent porcelain dinner sets and tea sets in Chinese porcelain with over-glaze colours. The introduction of new enamels such as white and pink enamels in the 1720s expanded the range of the colours available to the decorators in the manufacture centre at Jingdezhen. From the late 1720s onwards, pattern, designs and decoration seemed to be more important for the EEIC than shape, because 'the newer the pattern of decoration the easier to sell.'[21] It is noteworthy that only from the year 1729 did enamelled porcelain begin to appear in the EEIC's Canton trade, The EEIC supercargoes realised that enamelled wares would bring more profit at home, as they wrote in 1731: ''Coiqua (a Chinese porcelain dealer) has a parcel of fine enamelled China ware which we think will turn to good account in England and as it will sink much more money than Blue and White.''[22]

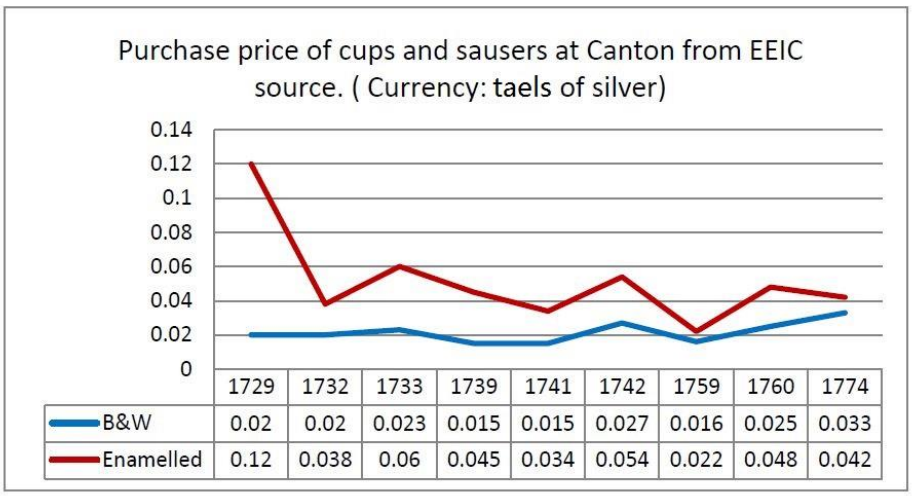
Around the turn of the eighteenth century, porcelain began to replace silver on the dinner table. Along with the prevalence of tea drinking in Britain, the EEIC were especially interested in buying matching tea 'services' and chocolate sets, as well as dinner sets — 'useful wares.' When enamelled porcelain first appeared in Canton in 1729, the EEIC bought 78,817 pieces, but in 1732, this number increased to 198,871 pieces. Perfection in the use of opaque enamels of the enamelled porcelain from about 1729 provided Chinese craftsmen with a full range of colours with which to satisfy the needs of their trade. It is clear that a requirement for enamelled porcelain was

[21] IOR/E/3 Original Correspondence, 1602-1712 and Despatch Books, 1626-1753 (124 volumes) Despatches book, 1726, 1 November, vol.103, p.508, cited in Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton*, p.18.
[22] IOR/G/12/30, 20 July, 1730.

fashionable and of the latest style. Amongst more than 3,300 pieces of armorial porcelain of the eighteenth century, illustrated in Howard's two volume studies, most of them were enamelled wares.[23]

Moreover, there was a great demand for fine 'China ware' from private trade. Private trade increased exponentially, although it was still probably less than five per cent of the total orders. Porcelain painted with desirable designs was transmitted and purchased by the Supercargoes. They preferred to buy pieces in small quantities, but of high quality. The ready for departure pieces stored in the Hong merchant's warehouse could not meet the requirement of 'function as sets' or 'fashionable decoration'. As soon as enamelled porcelain became available in the market, the supercargoes preferred to buy them, rather than blue-and-white wares, because enamelled wares were designed after the latest fashion and enamelled wares could be sold five times more in price than blue and white pieces.[24] Figure 4-3 shows the comparison price between enamelled and blue and white porcelain of cups and saucers. Although it fluctuated and was in general decline, we see that enamelled porcelain was always more expensive than blue and white in cups and saucers. Similar patterns could be found in other items, such as tea-pots and plates.

[23] David S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain,* vol.1 (London: Faber, 1974). And the second volume, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain,* vol.2 (Wiltshire: Heirloom Howard Limited, 2003).
[24] Geoffey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain: and its influence on European Wares* (London, Toronto, Sydney, New York: Granada, 1979), p.203.




| | 1729 | 1732 | 1733 | 1739 | 1741 | 1742 | 1759 | 1760 | 1774 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B&W | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.023 | 0.015 | 0.015 | 0.027 | 0.016 | 0.025 | 0.033 |
| Enamelled | 0.12 | 0.038 | 0.06 | 0.045 | 0.034 | 0.054 | 0.022 | 0.048 | 0.042 |

Figure 4-3 Purchase price of cups and saucers at Canton from EEIC's records. (taels of silver)
Source: Appendix A.

Growing demand together with profit attracted new participants to the porcelain trade. It was no longer necessary to store large quantities of 'China ware' in advance, but small parcels of enamelled wares decorated with the latest fashion could bring profit. As a result, small operators that did not have warehouses or firms in Canton started to take advantage of their flexibility to participate in the porcelain trade.

Small porcelain dealers were to be more mobile and flexible for the trade than Hong merchants. The big Hong merchants preferred to trade with the company in bulk orders. They traded many types of goods, porcelain, tea, silk as well as gold. In other words, they were not specialised in the porcelain trade and porcelain trade was not their main profitable business. Because of the high price of enamelled wares, special orders from supercargoes usually came in small numbers and required dealers to know exactly the instructions for decoration. It sometimes required dealers to go to the manufacture town (Jingdezhen, 500 miles away from Canton) to place an order. In this respect, the Hong merchants would not deal with enamelled wares because it was

likely to cost them too much time. Consequently, small dealers' more flexible mobility allowed them to respond to the new requirements quickly.

Another key element of the enamelled porcelain trade of the period between 1729 and 1740 was that the number of porcelain shops increased. Numerous records of the EEIC's records show the experience of the supercargoes in porcelain shops. Along with the prevalence of tea drinking in Britain, the EEIC were interested in buying 'useful wares'. In 1732, the EEIC spent in total almost 10,000 taels of silver on enamelled wares and 39% were spent on service in sets.[25] In order to buy porcelain in 'sets', supercargoes have to look over the examples before they make a contract. Extant records of viewing 'China ware' in porcelain shops have been written down. The interior of porcelain shops was repeatedly depicted in different contemporary materials, such as painting in gauche paper, silk and on porcelain.[26] Figure 4-4 shows a painting of a porcelain shop in the 1730s. As we can see, the supercargoes were about to view the 'China ware' in a porcelain shop. Judging from the interior design, the shop was quite small and this suggests that this was probably not a Hong merchant's warehouse, but a small porcelain shop.

[25] This number was calculated from the account of porcelain trade in IOR/G/12/33, Appendix A.
[26] For a general discussion of paintings on porcelain manufactures, see Lam Yip Keung Peter, 'Porcelain Manufacture Illustrations of the Qing Dynasty' *Journal of Guangzhou Museum of Art*, 1(2004), pp.21-49.

Figure 4-4 A Porcelain shop, Canton, *c*.1730s.
Gouache on paper, 41 x 31 cm.
Photo Courtesy of University of Lund.

The growing number of porcelain dealers increased the variety of porcelain items on the market that supercargoes have more options to purchase. In 1729 the officer complained: 'The merchants having this year given orders for very little up in the Country' which gave them no choices. While things changed several years later, in 1736, the officer wrote: 'We have employed ourselves these days in looking over the China Ware shops for what new musters we could find of the sorts proper for the Europe Market.'[27] And in 1737, the EEIC had more choices, such that they could refuse some porcelain that could not meet their requirements. In September, they noted: 'we had to refuse some painted porcelain from Emanuells, because the Tea pots and Milk pots were painted badly and could not make them as sets.'[28]

[27] IOR/G/12/40, 29 July 1736.
[28] IOR/G/12/42, 3 September, 1737.

The increasing porcelain dealers, however, resulted in declining the price of enamelled porcelain. As shown in Figure 4-3, the price of enamelled cups and saucers in 1732 was two times cheaper than 1729, while the blue and white ones remained almost unchanged. From this point, we see how enamelled porcelain changed the market in a very short time. The increasing competition of the enamelled porcelain trade urged local porcelain dealers to upgrade their services, as well as their sales techniques. This leaded to a different pattern of porcelain trade from a large quantity of blue and white porcelain trade that local porcelain dealers started the business of supplying enamelled porcelain with special design, as we will see in the following sections.

## 4.4. Private Trade of Enamelled Porcelain

Britain was the major client for armorial services with a possible total of five thousand armorial pieces, followed by Holland, with about six to seven hundred.[29] Among more than 3,300 pieces of armorial porcelain of the eighteenth century illustrated in Howard's two volumes studies, most of them were enamelled wares. The perfection in the use of opaque enamels of the enamelled porcelain from about 1729 provided Chinese craftsmen with a full range of colours with which to satisfy the needs of trade. A large portion of special orders included porcelain decorated with the coats of arms of families and corporations. From the late 1720s onwards, the private order of armorial services was exclusively decorated with enamel colours. The number of

[29] David S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain,* vol.1 (London: Faber, 974); *Chinese Armorial Porcelain,* vol.2 (Wiltshire: Heirloom & Howard Limited, 2003).

armorial enamelled services continued to increase, and reached their peak during the 1750s and 1760s, as shown in Figure 4-5.

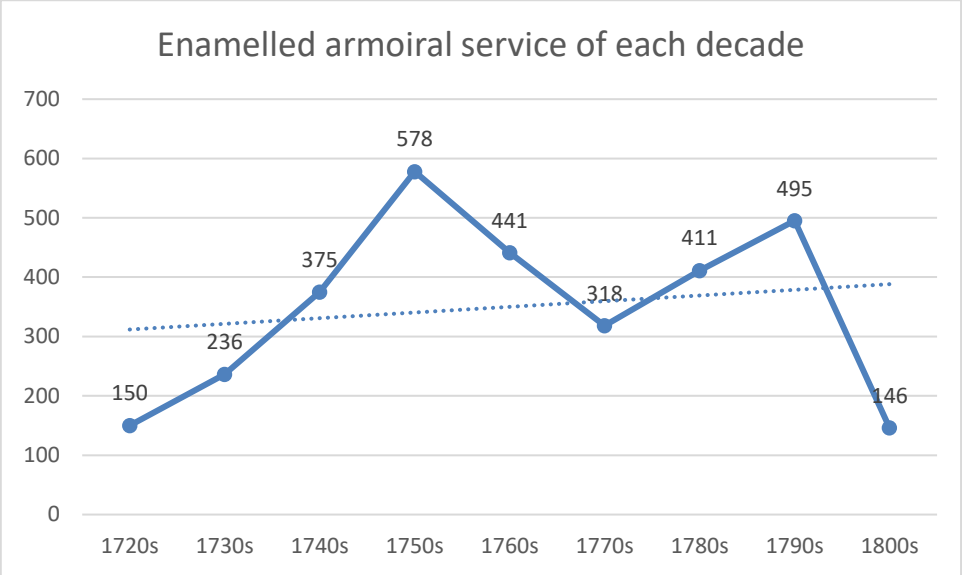



Figure 4-5 The number of enamelled armorial porcelain of each decade in the eighteenth century.
Source: David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain, Vol.2* (London, 2003), p.75

The purchase of armorial porcelain services had to put in special orders, and such an order was more likely to have been taken by dealers specialising in porcelain trade. In this case, the EEIC supercargoes relied a good deal on the shopkeepers, who may have better specialised knowledge of porcelain. At this point, shopkeepers' roles became crucial, as they were both suppliers of enamelled porcelain and also played a role as specialists. The individual items of service tea-pots, cups, saucers and plates were ordered from different specialised kilns in Jingdezhen, making the coordination of size and matching decoration. Accordingly, the price paid for the pieces ordered was quite high. These special orders were carried out by shopkeepers who made a long journey to Jingdezhen to arrange for the manufacture, and a second journey to collect them when they were ready.

A surviving invoice shows the details of such orders. From the invoice, Charles Peers ordered more than 800 pieces of porcelain, half blue and white, and half in enamel; the total amount was 268 taels of silver or about £90.[30] This invoice illustrates the way that the directors of the EEIC traded and ordered services for their own use. The order consists of instructions in terms of size and decoration. As mentioned above, in 1731, the EEIC only traded enamelled porcelain with Coiqua (a Chinese dealer). In the same year, the EEIC also had a contract with Coiqua for some porcelain for private trade. In a Court Minute[31] dated 16 December 1733 we see the following:

> Request of Mr. Thomas Fytche being read praying leave to remit the sum of the 95 pounds in foreign silver by the *Harrison* to Coiqua in Canton for a parcel of china he had bespoke with coats of Arms. Ordered that his request be granted.[32]

Thomas Fytche was at this time second Supercargo of the *Harrison*, having been the fifth in line in the 1731-32 seasons, when the ships *Harrison, Hartford, Caesar* and *Macclesfield* were in China. It must have been on this previous trip that the armorial design was sent to Coiqua, and this dealer places the order to the

[30] The invoice has been examined by Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*: *Pattern of Exchange* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), pp.52-54. Details of ordered pieces of porcelain can be found from Geoffey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain: and its influence on European Wares* (London, Toronto, Sydney, New York: Granada, 1979), pp.195-203. According to David S. Howard's research, these services were made for Lord King Ockam. who had a service made for himself when he became a baron in the summer of 1725 and was made Lord Chancellor. The services would have been ready by the end of 1727. See David S.Howard, *The Choice of Private Trader*: *The Private Market in Chinese Export Porcelain illustrated from the Hodroff Collection* (Zwemmer: The Minneapolis Institute,1994), p.25.

[31] The Minutes of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors (together known generally as 'Court Minutes') form the central record of the deliberations and resolutions of the English East India Company.

[32] India Office Records and Private Papers, Court Minute on 16 December 1733, cited in Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain,* p.208.

manufacture place in Jingdezhen. It is certain from this point that more and more supplying dealers like Coiqua, especially small operators, seized the opportunity to place special orders for trade in porcelain.

Another extraordinary example of a more detailed order survives. This order was made by Joint Auditors of 'His Majesty's Revenue' between 1728 and 1730. It is a sheet of vellum with the arms of the Tower family painted on one side (Figure 4-7) and a list objects wanted on the reverse (Figure 4-6):

6 Punch Bowls Coloured to these Arms

On outside to be Enamelled Ware

2 sets Enamelled Ware for a Tea Table with Crest on the side of each piece.[33]

Additionally, on the reverse is a description in Chinese characters, the rest of which was probably lost when the vellum was framed in the nineteenth century, I translate:

One screen of 8 leaves and 8-foot high with all the accessories

Two big plates, four small plates

The Tower family made five orders of this pattern, but of different decorations between 1720 and 1730. There is one in blue and white, one in red and gold, and the remaining three are enamelled. The blue and white and red in gold were made in a slightly earlier period prior to 1728 and the enamelled ones were made between 1728 and 1730. The Tower service is of great interest because it reflects the rapid changes in

[33] Christopher and Thomas Tower were brothers. They were joint auditors of His Majesty's Revenue and members of Parliament; Thomas was a trustee of the colony of Goergia. See more from David S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain,* vol.2, p.142

taste and style of Chinese porcelain in the late 1720s, and also shows the process of ordering armorial service.

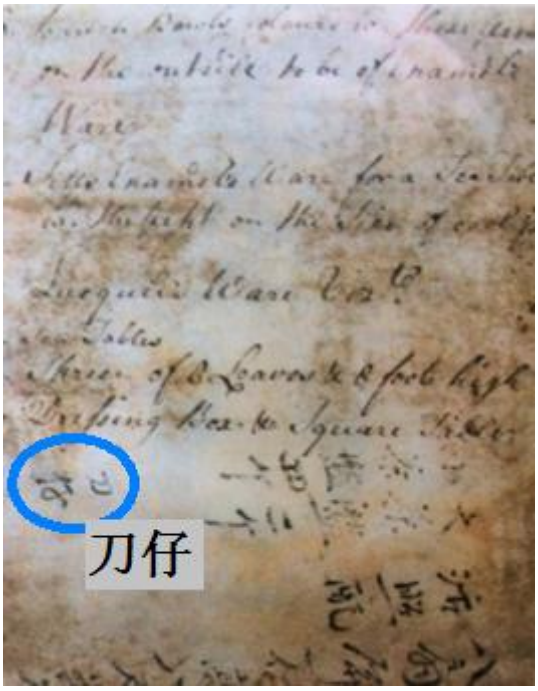



Figure 4-6 An order with detailed instruction and design.
Source: David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol.2 (London, 2003), p.142.

Figure 4-7 The design of arms of Tower family.
Source: David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol.2 (Heirloom & Howard Limited, 2003), p.142

The Tower family service provides us with extremely valuable evidence regarding instructions relating to special orders. It contains the dealer's name and Chinese translations of the instructions. This order was signed by Dao Zai (刀仔) (as circled in Figure 4-6). Dao Zai could be a porcelain dealer or a dealer who also had a shop. He would have received the Tower order from a supercargo or captain and conveyed it to Jingdezhen. He might also have received an order from other Canton porcelain dealers. Together with other orders, this would have been carried by Dao Zai on his journey to Jingdezhen. A contemporary pictorial illustration of the eighteenth century on porcelain manufacture depicted the process of the porcelain dealers' journey to the Inland-Jingdezhen.[34]

[34] Walter August Staehelin, T*he Book of Porcelain: Manufacture, Transport and Sale of Export Porcelain in China During the 18th Century* (London, 1966), p.46.

As a group of porcelain dealers, shopkeepers like Dao Zai and Coiqua played a very important role in the enamelled porcelain trade. They bridged the gap between traders and producers, and were a link between Canton and Jingdezhen. In other words, their role in prompting enamelled porcelain was significant. Because of their willingness to deal in small quantities of porcelain, the EEIC supercargoes thus had the opportunity to place special orders. At the same time, the producers or painters in Jingdezhen could have the chance to see and copy designs. Cross-cultural exchange became convoluted, with shopkeepers' participating in trade.

## 4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has paid close attention to the porcelain trade of the EEIC during the first half of the eighteenth century. It introduced a contextualized framework of EEIC's trade environment in Canton. It also looked carefully into the extant archival records of the EEIC concerning the porcelain business with China. There can be no doubt that enamelled porcelain played a very important role in trade. This is the case because enamelled porcelain represented the latest fashion and design, and could bring trading opportunities, and opened entry to small operators. Consequently, along with the great demand for enamelled porcelain and special ordered pieces, new supply agents started to appear in the trade. The establishment of a specialised porcelain shop suggested that local porcelain dealers responded to the market both quickly and efficiently.

# CHAPTER 5. Porcelain Trade at Canton 1740-1760

## 5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a detailed analysis of porcelain trade between China and Europe in the period between 1740 and 1760. Based on records from the VOC and the EEIC, the first section provides a historical analysis of porcelain trade at Canton, with a particular focus on blue and white porcelain. It first demonstrates that the trade of blue and white experienced ups and downs. Scholars have associated fluctuations in East India Companies' trade with changing trade policy and trade environment from European companies. This research, on the contrary, argues that the fluctuation in porcelain was not only influenced by factors from the company itself, but also by factors from the China side.

The second section draws attention to the enamelled porcelain trade and demonstrates a different trade pattern from blue and white. Unlike the fluctuating trade of under-glazed blue, enamelled porcelain trade experienced steady growth. This is a fact that has been largely neglected in current studies. This neglect is mainly due to the less frequent investigation of the enamelled porcelain trade on its own account. In contrast to its steady price (as shown in Figure 4-3), the imported quantity of blue and white was fluctuating. On the contrary, the quantity of enamelled porcelain enjoyed steady growth. Situated in its historical context between 1740 and 1760, this research suggests the reason why it occurred.

During the 1740s and 1760, the blue and white porcelain trade was controlled by the Hong merchants while enamelled porcelain trade was controlled by informal

traders. The formal market of blue and white porcelain was easily affected by trade policy, as well as other factors. On the contrary, enamelled porcelain trade was controlled by shopkeepers and was not affected by these factors.

In the third section, the chapter discusses the problem of whether porcelain could be enamelled at Canton during this period. Based on various pieces of evidence, this research provides a different point of view from present scholarship suggesting that porcelain could not be enamelled at large scale in Canton prior to 1760.

## 5.2. The Fluctuating Trade of Blue and White Porcelain

The period 1740-1760 was a time when Jingdezhen porcelain (both blue and white and enamelled porcelain) production reached its peak both in technical perfection and production volume.[1] By this time, the vast proportion of porcelain made for both domestic and overseas markets is believed to have come from Jingdezhen.[2] At Canton, it was a time when many European countries had established their own 'factory' at Canton. The porcelain trade was assumed to be entering a steady stage.[3] Paradoxically, with Jingdezhen being about to flourish, the trade of blue and white porcelain at Canton fluctuated.

However, this fluctuation has not yet been recognised by current scholarship. In order to emphasise Chinese porcelain's influence to other societies and cultures during

[1] Liang Miaotai, *Ming Qing Jingdezhen Chengshi Jingji Yanjiu* (The study of porcelain industry during Ming-Qing period) (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin Chubanshe, 2004), pp.240-294. Michael Dillon, 'A History of Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen' (Ph.D thesis, University of Leeds, 1976), pp.50-52.
[2] Coline Sheaf, 'The Geldermalsen 1752' in Coline Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hathcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record* (Oxford, 1988), p.100.
[3] Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental export market porcelain: and its influence on European wares* (Granada PublishingLimited: London, 1979), p.43.

the eighteenth century, researchers tended to focus on the fact that large quantities of items or objects survived in larger numbers. Admittedly, blue and white porcelain was imported in large quantities and this served many ways in influencing other cultures.[4] The influential work of John Carswell *Blue & White: Chinese Porcelain around the World* certainly made blue and white become an icon of Chinese export porcelain.[5] Moreover, the discovery of shipwrecks reinforced the idea that the Chinese export porcelain was referred to as blue and white. The excavation of shipwrecks from the Hatcher cargo (1643-1646), the Ca Mau cargo (1725) and the Geldermalsen (1752) reinforced the picture that blue and white porcelain trade increased. The beautiful and dominant colour of blue from the excavation catalogues certainly show that trade was stable.[6] The auctions of these shipwrecked porcelains held by Sotheby's and Christie's expanded this point of view from a research interest into a wider audience, with the auction catalogues printed in larger numbers.[7] Both the fluctuating trade pattern and enamelled porcelain could easily eclipse their existence from a public and scholarly point of view.

The emphasis in both scholarship and auctions on blue and white and the large figure of quantities has limited the discussion of Chinese export porcelain trade. In

[4] John Carswell, Jean McClure Mudge, David and Alfred Smart Gallery, *Blue and white: Chinese porcelain and its impact on the Western world* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986). Adam T. Kessler, *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2010).

[5] John Carswell, *Blue & White: Chinese Porcelain around the World* (London: British Museum Press, 2000).

[6] It should be mentioned that Ca Mau cargo and the Geldermalsen also carried overglaze enamelled porcelain, but most of overglaze enamels or gilt disappeared after long immersion in salt water, only those underglaze blue survived with beautiful original design and decorations.

[7] Christie's, *The Hatcher Collection* (Christie's, Amsterdam, 12-13 June 1984), Sotheby's, *Made in Imperial China. 76,000 pieces of Chinese export porcelain from the Ca Mau Shipwreck, Circa 1725* (Sotheby's Amsterdam, 29, 30 & 31 January 2007). Christie's *The Nanking Cargo. Chinese Export Porcelain and gold, auction catalogue* (Christie's Amsterdam, 28 April - 2 May 1986).

addition, research on the porcelain trade has largely been conducted by consulting one company's archival records. This approach certainly provided valuable insights, but on the other hand limited our view on the full picture of trade. In Chris Nierstrasz's recent book, he has sought to compare the VOC and EEIC in terms of the trade of tea and textiles. As Chris Nierstrasz noted, such approach 'gives a new and surprising insight into how imperfect these monopolies actually were.'[8] Such a method is certainly useful for a better understanding of Chinese porcelain trade.

The examination of the two leading East India Companies' records, VOC and EEIC, yields two main characteristics of the porcelain trade of the period between 1740 and 1760. The first one was that the blue and white porcelain trade experienced an erratic stage (Figure 5-1). Furthermore, this fluctuation coincided with the tea trade. In his recent research, Chris Nierstrasz has shown the ups and downs of the tea trade during 1740 and 1760.[9] He pointed out that the tea trade was closely intertwined with political events and changes in the way the trade was organised.[10] It is true that during the mid-eighteenth century, the EEIC and VOC both experienced hard times. Europe was aligning and realigning itself to meet the major wars of the century-the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1745) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). By comparing the EEIC and the VOC records, he further pointed out that competition was another contributor that made the tea trade unstable.[11] Admittedly, these factors have certainly played roles in the trade at Canton; however, such narratives have largely neglected these factors from China's side.

[8] Chris Nierstrasz, 'introduction', *Rivalry for Trade in Tea and Textiles: The English and Dutch East India companies (1700-1800)* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.4.
[9] Ibid, p.62.
[10] Ibid, p.63.
[11] Ibid.

We need to consider the factors from China's perspective. Unlike present scholarship, this research thus considers the porcelain trade within a Chinese historical context. I shall argue that the fluctuation of the porcelain trade was greatly affected not only by the political events that took place in Europe, but also by other factors from China's side.

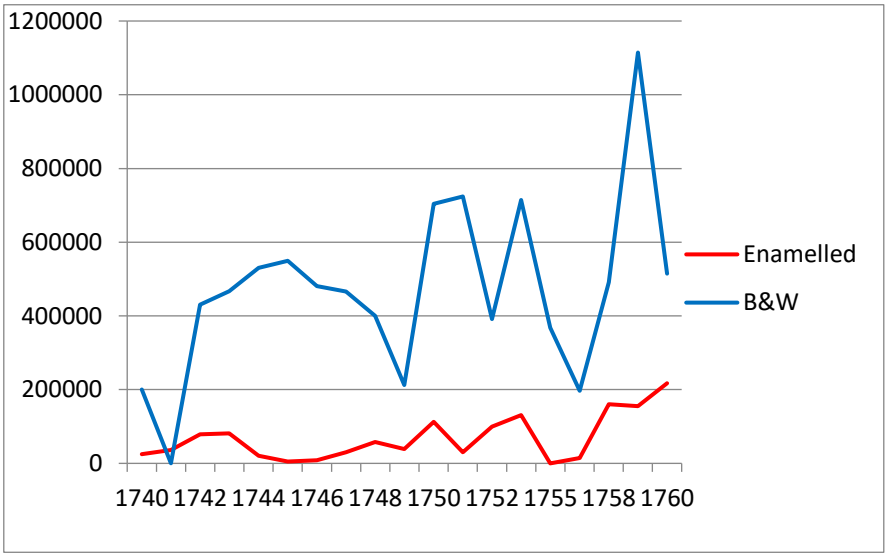



Figure 5-1 Quantities of imported porcelain by the VOC and the EEIC, 1740-1760. (in pieces). Source*:* Appendix B.

The large quantity of blue and white trade was certainly affected by the production at Jingdezhen, and the production was affected by many factors. The production and export of porcelain at Jingdezhen were dictated by market forces since the Song-Yuan period. Porcelain kilns in Jingdezhen have been identified as private enterprises, and they were trade and profit-oriented, and much of the operation was almost certainly geared towards exports.[12] Yet this claim was not applicable in the

[12] Deng Gang, *Maritime sector, institutions and sea power of premodern China* (Westport: Conn.1999), pp.60-61.

mid-eighteenth century, as the production was also largely affected by factors particular to the Qing Empire.

In the year 1751, both the VOC and the EEIC complained about how difficult it was to get porcelain at Canton. The records confirm the short supply (Figure 5-1). The year 1751 was the time that the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1735-1795) launched his first Southern Tour.[13] Apparently, his visit affected the porcelain production and consequently affected trade at Canton. The EEIC confronted a situation that not so many porcelains were available at Canton in the year 1751, as they complained, 'Our China ware gives us a good deal of trouble, there being but very little choice, and comes down in very small parcels, which is the occasion of our not having finished as yet that article for Lord Anson.'[14] As we will see, the VOC had a similar experience, in that according to Dutch records, dealers in Canton did not want to accept any orders for porcelain 'for the reason that the Emperor is scheduled to make a journey this year from Peking to Nanking and to this end, according to the estimate, porcelain to the value of more than 30.000 taels has to be made.'[15] Records from the VOC and the EEIC confirm that in the year 1751 Jingdezhen as a place of production was commissioned to produce porcelain for the Emperor's visit. Thus, it would be risky for Canton merchants to buy porcelain from there, as there might be not so many.

In order to provide an impressive reception, the local government sought to prepare a residence or a palace for the Qianlong Emperor's short stay in 1751.

[13] Qing emperors were the first to undertake multiple tours of inspection to all corners of the empire. These personal inspection tours were part of a strategy for extending and solidifying Manchu rule throughout the empire. During his 60-year reign, the Kangxi Emperor (r.1661-1722) completed six southern inspection tours. The Qianlong Emperor, followed his example and also made six southern tours. The imperial inspection tours of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors were unique in Chinese history.

[14] IOR/G/12/55, 13 September 1751.

[15] C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade* (The Hague, 1982), p.123.

According to *Records of Painted Boats of Yangzhou* (Yangzhou Huafanglu，扬州画舫录) the Qianlong emperor was accompanied by eighteen merchants in Yangzhou.[16] Together with another seven merchants, these twenty merchants were sponsored to build temples, galleries, pavilions. There were four temples in Yangzhou, 5,363 two stories-galleries, 213 pavilions and terraces.[17] Naturally, these palaces had to be furnished to an imperial standard, which had to be similar to the one in Beijing. Furniture, decorative objects as well as daily utensils would need to be provided. This was a perfect opportunity for local officials and merchants to flatter the emperor with prosperous settings in the form of gardens, roads, shops and craft workshops. Not surprisingly, as the supply centre of porcelain pieces for daily use and decorative items for the palaces, Jingdezhen must have received many orders from local officials from those cities listed in the emperor's Southern Tour. It is worth mentioning that these palaces were only built for the emperor when he was on tour, which means that the products supplied to these buildings such as porcelain also often fluctuated.

The porcelain trade of the year 1751 provided several valuable aspects for studies of Chinese export porcelain in the mid-eighteenth century. It firstly demonstrates that the trade of porcelain was not a linear one, but far more complex than we have previously acknowledged. It also provides evidence that the supply of porcelain was not merely associated with demand and Company's policy, but was also affected by factors from China.

[16] Li Dou, *Yangzhou Huafang Lu* [Records of Painted Boats of Yangzhou] (1799, reprint Jiangsu:Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1984), vol.4, p.102. *Yangzhou Huafang Lu* was a late eighteenth century account of gardens, temples and restaurants.

[17] Feng Mingzhu (ed.), *Shengqing Shehui yu Yangzhou Yanjiu* [The society and Yangzhou during High-Qing period) (Taipei: Yuanliu chuban, 2011), p.101.

## 5.3. The Steady Growth of Enamelled Porcelain Trade

Between 1740 and 1760, the market division between under-glazed blue and enamelled wares became more evident, and the large quantity of blue and white was controlled by Hong merchants, while smaller quantities of fine enamelled porcelain were left to dealers with smaller capital. The previous section of this chapter showed a fluctuated trade pattern of blue and white, I will show in this section that the trade of enamelled porcelain of this period enjoyed a steady growth. I will then explain why it occurred.

The theory of formal and informal market explains perfectly the porcelain trade pattern at Canton. In their article, Mark Casson and John S. Lee have explored the market development historically from the twelfth century onwards.[18] In this article, they argued that market development was slower than normally assume, institutional arrangements, large-scale consumers as well as the competition between markets certainly played important role in markets development. What is more important to my research is their analysis on informal market. According to them, informal market always played prominent role in the trade. R. Bin Wong made similar argument even stronger in the context of Chinese markets of the eighteenth century. Wong argued it was the informal factors that facilitated the commercial expansion of the eighteenth-century China.[19]

Although their research focused on a wider scope about how markets developed,

[18] Mark Casson and John S. Lee, 'The Origin and Development of Markets: A Business History Perspective' *Business History Review*, 85, 01(2011), pp. 9-37. For informal market of the eighteenth century China, see, R. Bin Wong, 'The Political Economy of Chinese Rural Industry And Commerce in Historical Perspective', *Études Rurales*, 1(2002), pp.153-164.

[19] R. Bin Wong, 'The Political Economy of Chinese Rural Industry And Commerce in Historical Perspective', *Études Rurales*, 1(2002), pp.153-164.

similar arguments can be made in my research. In the context of export porcelain trade at Canton, the large quantity of blue and white porcelain trade required a more efficient and expansive system which could be categorised into a formal market. On the other hand, informal factors were accounted more importantly to enamelled porcelain trade, as informal transactions tend to be small, lightly regulate and has an easier entry. The formal market of blue and white was easily affected by wars and political instability, as shown, while the informal markets of enamelled porcelain in contrast brought growth.

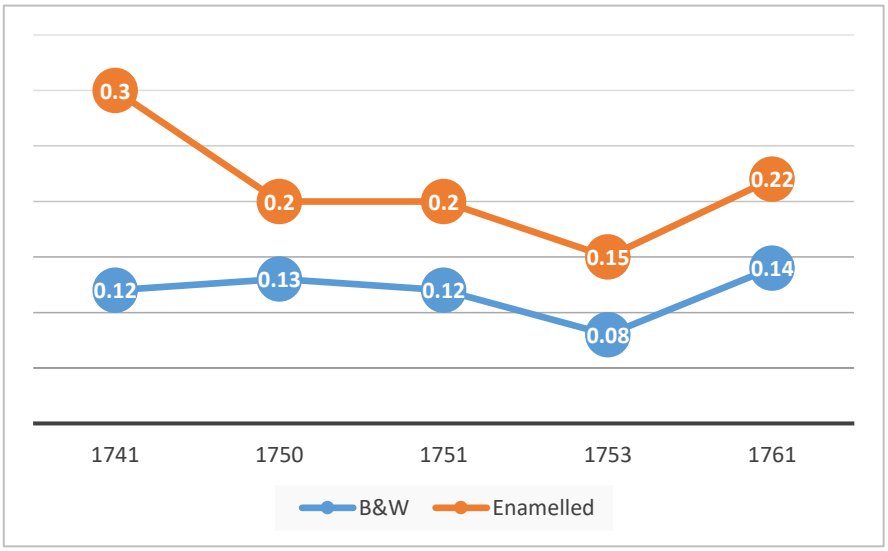



Figure 5-2 Average price of single bowl in 1741-1761 in taels of silver.
Source: this price is calculated by the author of this thesis by using both the EEIC and VOC records. The VOC records were taken C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade* (The Hague, 1982), p.121. The EEIC records: IOR/G/12/48-IOR/G/12/57, R/10/4-R/10/5.

The increasing and steady demand for enamelled wares from the East India companies reduced uncertainty in long-distance trade of porcelain and thus in turn more trade could take place. In addition, the enamelled porcelain trade continued to be more profitable than blue and white, as was reflected in the price. For example, in

the shape of the bowl, the price of enamelled porcelain was higher than blue and white. (Figure 5-2) It is important to note that from 1730 to 1760, the price of enamelled porcelain fell slightly. It was mainly due to the production of enamelled porcelain at Jingdezhen expanded. Another factor was probably competition among shopkeepers. Records of the EEIC suggest that prices from different dealers tended to vary towards the mid-eighteenth century. For example, in the year 1741, among different shopkeepers, the price of a single bowl in enamelled decoration varied from 0.085 taels to 0.45 taels.[20]

The shopkeeper was usually not one of the Hong merchants. Chinese textual materials are silent on these porcelain shops or dealers. But along with the disclosure of records of East India Companies, we find porcelain dealers' names have consistently been noted down. It is noteworthy that the number could be even larger, due to the fact that private trade has not been written down.

In the Chinese context, since the Ming dynasty, brokers were appointed by the government to manage foreign trade. As Fu Yiling noted, they were shopkeepers (*pushang* 铺商) and were selected from among the registered shop-keeper households (*puhu* 铺戶).[21] After the 1720s, as Ng Chin-keong has shown, specialisation among merchants engaged in maritime trade became more complex.[22] Compared to Hong merchants, their business was not considered very important, and they had a certain degree of freedom to deal with foreigners. Both textual records from Chinese and European sources confirmed the fact that during the second half of the

[20] Three contracts were signed respectively with Texia,Kiqua,Nunqua in year 1741. IOR/G/12/50.
[21] Fu Yiling, *Ming Qing shi dai shang ren ji shang ye zi ben* [Merchants and their capitals during the Ming-Qing period] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956). pp.132-133.
[22] Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society. The Amoy Network on the China Coast1683–1735* (Singapore: Singapore National University, 1983), pp.168-169.

eighteenth century, there were numerous porcelain shops in Canton. At this time, retailers tended to specialise in shops selling items of a particular kind, such as porcelain and lacquer ware.

According to Jörg, in the trade report of the Dutch East India Company of 1764 a good fifty shops are mentioned, which mainly sold porcelain of higher quality. The names of about half the dealers are known from the records, and it is a striking fact that a great many new names appear among them after 1760.[23]

More remarkable than the number of the shops is the fact that these local retailers were capable of meeting their customers' needs. In the period 1740-1760, the private trade of enamelled armorial porcelain reached its peak throughout the whole eighteenth century. (Table 2)

| **Company** | **1720s** | **1730s** | **1740s** | **1750s** | **1760s** | **1770s** | **1780s** | **1790s** | **1800s** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EEIC | 150 | 236 | 375 | 578 | 441 | 318 | 411 | 495 | 146 |
| Spain | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 15 | 13 | 5 | 10 | 6 |
| Dutch | 0 | 85 | 92 | 65 | 35 | 29 | 31 | 0 | 16 |
| Total | 152 | 323 | 469 | 648 | 491 | 360 | 447 | 505 | 168 |

Table 2 The account of special order of enamelled porcelain. (Set of services).
Source: Jochem Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market* (Waanders, 2007), p.14.
Rocío Díaz, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for Spain* (London and Lisbon: Jorge Welsh Books, 2010).
David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain,* vol.2 (Heirloom & Howard Limited, 2003).

Special orders of armorial porcelain were facilitated by the willingness of shopkeepers to place orders for items they did not necessarily have in stock. Creating an export-ware product was certainly about quality and design. It was about the design

[23] Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade,* p.116.

of products to be sold in distant places and in very different cultures. These shopkeepers made use of increasingly sophisticated marketing strategies, including advertising and the display of goods. By presenting and displaying samples to their foreign customers, they managed to reduce the risk of being rejected. The evidence suggests, I would argue, that there was a group of dealers who served as middleman between the merchants and the porcelain manufacturers.

## 5.4. Enamelling Porcelain Locally at Canton?

The period 1740-1760 is particularly important for the study of Chinese enamelled porcelain. One of the crucial and most mysterious aspects was that craftsmen based at Canton were able to paint enamel and fire enamelled porcelain at local workshops.

Based on the survey of some particular objects and the increase in special orders of enamelled armorial porcelain, scholars have assumed that in the 1740s Canton established its own workshops to paint enamel on porcelain.[24] Although there is no evidence to substantiate this, this assumption remained unchanged since the 1910s.[25] Moreover, present scholarship tends to associate the increasing export enamelled porcelain with local workshops at Canton.[26] My research argues that this assumption obscures the two separate issues: the existence of enamel workshops and the scale of their production. The establishment of workshops of enamelling porcelain was not as

[24] See, Luisa Mengoni, 'The Sino-European trade in ceramics: bulk export and special orders' in Lu Zhangshen (ed.), *Passion for Porcelain: Masterpieces of Ceramics from the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2012), p.20. Rose Kerr and Luisa Mengoni, *Chinese Export Ceramics*, (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2011), p.59.Danel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the XIX Century And Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced During the Qing Dynasty, 1644-1908* (Paris: Vilo Publishing, 2001), p.50.
[25] Stephen W. Bushell, *Chinese Art Volume II*, (London: 1919), p.40.
[26] Mengoni, 'The Sino-European trade', p.19.

early as assumed, but of a later period, in the late 1750s. The next chapter will focus on the enamelling workshop of Canton in the late eighteenth century.

I argue that there were no workshops of enamel paintings on porcelain of large scale in 1740-1760. In the light of the trade data of the EEIC and the VOC, It was not until the early 1760s that there was a dramatic increase in the enamelled porcelain trade. (Figure 5-1) Following the hypothesis by the present scholarship that Canton was capable of producing enamelled porcelain on a large scale, one would naturally assume that the exported pieces of enamelled porcelain in the following decades would increase sharply. However, the account of exported enamelled porcelain of the VOC and the EEIC refuted this assumption. As mentioned above, the increase of enamelled porcelain trade remained steady and slow, and there was no sharp increase, suggesting that the Canton did not have many workshops for porcelain enamelling. Unfortunately, we do not have records regarding the company's production of porcelain, but we do have some information about silk production in Canton. In 1739, the officer of the EEIC noted:

> We went to the merchants who were making our silks to press the delivery of them soon and to desire them to air those pieces which were already made, and to cause them all to be brought to Canton, so that we might see them. They assured us, that effaced card had been taken by the weavers this year to prevent their being damp.[27]

This record is of particular importance in terms of manufacture at Canton, since it shows Canton had many silk workshops. More importantly, it shows that the EEIC was involved in the process of silk production and they had a direct connection with

[27] IOR/G/12/47, 10 November 1739.

the merchant who was in charge of the production. It refers directly back to the quote above. This means that the EEIC could have played a role in the production process in order to get satisfactory products. However, during the same period, even though the delivery of porcelain was delayed or in short supply, the EEIC's records are silent about the manufacture of porcelain. In the later period, we see the evidence that the EEIC was involved in the enamelled porcelain manufacture. In 1778, the EEIC officer wrote back to London mentioning that the merchant who contracted with them was not able to supply some particular items such as patty pans because the manufacture was not able to produce them, but the merchant promised to give his agents and to place the orders as soon as possible.[28] Records of such kinds are extremely rare in the EEIC records. These two records show that the EEIC would pay much attention to the production process if they had a chance. Taking into consideration enamelled porcelain production in the period 1740-1760, when both the EEIC and the VOC has experienced some difficulties as there were not so many choices, while no information has been provided on the production in the records, it is reasonable to argue that at this time, there were no workshops of painting enamels on porcelain on a large scale.

In terms of textual resources, it was not until the late 1760s that the Canton porcelain enamelling workshop started to flourish. The earliest observation of enamelling porcelain was recorded by William Hickey, visiting Canton, was shown 'the different processes used in finishing the Chinaware. In one long gallery we found upwards of a hundred persons at work in sketching or finishing the various ornaments upon each particular piece of the ware, some parts being executed by men of a very

[28] IOR/G/12/60, 27 January 1778, Letter 73.

advanced age, and others by children even so young as six or seven year.'[29] Similarly, Chinese textural records believed the production of enamelled porcelain at Canton was derived from the late Qianlong reign, and flourished during the early nineteenth century.[30]

Moreover, the quality of the paintings of enamelled porcelain prior to 1760 suggests that both the porcelain and the enamel painting were produced in Jingdezhen.[31] In terms of private trade of armorial porcelain, there is a contradiction concerning mistakes in private orders. Certain errors were found in the specially ordered armorial porcelain, such as superimposing one coat of arms on another, crests facing in the wrong direction, painting the coat of arms in wrong colours, depicting lions as tigers.[32] If porcelain was enamelled at Canton, it would be rejected if it was painted incorrectly.

Nonetheless, there are some objects that required particular attention, as they were used to prove that Canton could enamel porcelain at the time. (Figure 5-3 and Figure 5-4) Bushell has noticed that a piece of enamelled porcelain was signed with the inscription of artist's seal 'white stone' (白石) and 'painted by painters in Canton' (岭南绘者) and attempted to prove that the artist's atelier was in the city.[33] (Figure 5-3) Similar objects can be found in the Rijksmuseum collection, one small vase decorated with a court lady playing a game (Figure 5-4) and one pair of cups and

[29] Alfred Spencer (ed.,), *Memoirs of William Hickey 1749-1775*, vol. 1 (London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., 1913), p.210; https://archive.org/details/memoirsofwilliam015028mbp, Accessed on 14 February 2016.
[30] Ji Yuansou, *TaoYa* [The elegance of porcelain], vol.2 (Beijing, 1918).
[31] Rose Kerr, *Chinese Ceramics: Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty, 1644-1911* (V&A Publication: London, 1986), p.30.
[32]For examples of mistakes, C. J. A. Jörg, (ed.), *Chinese Export Porcelain: Chine de Commande from the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1989), pp. 236–37
[33] Bushell, *Chinese Art*, p.40.

saucers decorated with a cock on a rock at flowering peony plants. Both of them were signed with the inscription ‘honor and wealth, written on the day of the flowers in the year *jiachen* [1724] in a beautiful house on the Zhujiang river’(功名富贵甲辰苍朝写于珠江精舍).

Figure 5-3 Enamelled Porcelain dish, Inscription and flowers.*c.*1723-1735.
Museum no.1890,1006.5.
Photo Courtesy of the British Museum.

Figure 5-4 Ovoid vase with four ladies and two children at a table and an inscription. Height: 15.3 cm, *c.* 1724.
Photo Courtesy of Rijksmuseum. AK-NM-6352-A.

Objects of this kind have been used to prove that Canton could paint enamel on porcelain and fire it locally for the export market.[34] One assumption was that the design with borders and diapers was particularly made for export. However, the style of painting, with borders and figures with an inscription, b, or a piece of the poem was typical from 1730 to 1750 at Jingdezhen manufactures. The other reason to categorise it as export porcelain made at Canton was the inscription, as the literal meaning 'made in Canon'. It is arguable that the inscription was just part of the design, rather than suggesting the actual manufacture place and date.

At this time, the production of enamelled copperwares at Canton was about to flourish. As Shi Jingfei has observed, Canton was capable of producing enamelled copperwares as early as the eighteenth century.[35] From the early 1750s, Canton

[34] Bushell, *Chinese Art,* p.40. R.L. Hobson, 'A Note on Canton Enamels', *Burlington Magazin,* Vol.XXII, Dec. 1912, pp.165-167. C.A. Jörg and J. Van Campen *Chinese ceramics in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: the Ming and Qing dynasties* (London: Wilson, 1997), p.212.
[35] Shi Jingfei, and Wang Congqi, 'Imperial Guang falang' of the Qianlong Period Manufactured by the Guangdong Maritime Customs' *Meishushi Jikan* [Journal of Art History],36 (2013), pp.87-184.

became a main production site of enamelled copperware for the Qing court.[36] This development has been traced by Shi Jingfei and was further explored by Xu Xiaodong, showing that the production of enamelled porcelain was inspired by the production of enamelled copperwares.[37] The link between enamelled copperwares at Canton and enamelled porcelain was obvious. *Jingdezhen Taolu* pointed out the following:

> Zhaoqin (肇庆), located at Yangjiang (阳江) in Canton, has imitated enamelled copper ware from foreign countries. Usually this is in the shape of censers, vases, saucers, dishes, bowls, plates and boxes, although the colour is quite brilliant but it is in poor taste, not as delicate as porcelain. However, the design was copied by Tang Ying (唐英) the supervisor of the Imperial Kiln at Jingdezhen from 1728 to 1758). Porcelain made under the supervision of Tang Ying are much more delicate than those from Zhaoqing.[38]

It is clear that there were enamel workshops at Canton prior to the mid-eighteenth century, but producing copperware rather than porcelain. And Tang Ying's own note indicated the difficulty of fire enamel porcelain and required skilful artisans. It is noteworthy here that Tang Ying went to Canton for one year in 1750 and was then sent back to Jingdezhen. During his stay in Canton in 1750, he might have seen local enamel workshops of copper wares and properly adopted their designs in porcelain production. Tang Ying, the supervisor or the Imperial Kiln at Jingdezhen himself noted that they were 'porcelains on which a new technique borrowed from Western

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Xu Xiaodong, 'Europe-China-Europe: The Transmission of the Craft of Painted Enamel in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in Maxine Berg (ed.) *Goods from the East 1600-1800 Trading Eurasia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.92-107.

[38] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu* [Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics] (Jinan, 2004), p.112.

painting method is used. Sometimes, it was quite difficult to paint, skilful painting techniques are essential, and it is necessary to test colours before painting on the actual piece.'[39] Even the main production site of enamelled porcelain at Jingdezhen regarded enamel paintings on porcelain as somewhat difficult, so that it was quite impossible for the Canton local workshop to produce such pieces.

A recent catalogue of enamelled copperwares of the Qing dynasty reveals another direction, namely that some designs of the enamelled copperwares were actually imitations of enamelled porcelain. The vast majority of enamelled copperware was proved to follow a range of export porcelain during the second half of the eighteenth century, and was pointed out as being 'by no means one-way.'[40] In this book, Jörg concludes that Cantonese craftsmen experimented with muffle kilns in or around Canton in 1735-1740 in order to fire porcelain and the production of enamelled copperwares was boosted by demand from foreign markets.[41] Jörg's research shows that the trade of enamelled porcelain urged the expansion of enamelled copperwares production in about the 1730s. The impulse of the enamelled porcelain trade to the local workshop was important. However, the assumed period in the 1730s is hypothetical and also problematic. Based on the fact that most of the enamelled copperware was made in the second half of the eighteenth century, the experiment of painting enamel on porcelain could not have been earlier than the 1750s. As argued

[39] Tang Ying, *Taoye Tuce* [The Illustration of Porcelain Production], (1743), quoted from Shi Jingfei, 'A Record of Cultural Exchange between the East and the West in the Eighteenth Century: the Manufacture of 'Painted enamels' in the Qing Court' *Gugong Xueshu Jikan* [Research Quarterly of the National Palace Museum], 24 (2007), p.65.
[40] Luisa Vinhais, Jorge Welsh (eds.), *China of all Colours: Painted Enamels on Copper* (London: Jorge Welsh Research and Publishing, 2015), pp.30-36.
[41] C.A. Jörg, 'Chinese Enamelled Copper for Export' in Luisa Vinhais, Jorge Welsh (eds.) *China of all Colours,* pp.39-48.

above, during the period prior to late 1750s, Canton was not capable of producing enamelled porcelain at large scale, but only copperware.

In brief, this section has brought new insights to the discussion of painting enamels on porcelain at Canton. It has used the trade data of the EEIC, the objects as well as research on enamelled copperware and has argued that painting enamel on porcelain at Canton started at a later date than scholars have assumed. Along with the increasing trade at Canton, the production of enamelled copperwares expanded around 1730s[42] and some of the design were copied by porcelain manufacture at Jingdezhen around the 1740s. Within the increasing trade of enamelled porcelain at Canton, local enamel workshops began to experiment with their skills on enamel painting on porcelain around the mid-eighteenth century, and expended its production in the late eighteenth century.

## 5.5. Conclusion

The contextualized analysis of porcelain trade at Canton during 1740 and 1760 reveals the complex nature of porcelain trade at Canton. This chapter has shown two different trade patterns of Chinese porcelain at Canton. It is argued that during the period 1740 and 1760, the market of blue and white and of enamelled porcelain had differentiated. The large quantity of blue and white porcelain was controlled by licensed Hong merchants, while enamelled porcelain trade was conducted by small shopkeepers. Owing to this, the trade of blue and white fluctuated and was influenced by the changing environment, either by the Company or by factors from China. On the

[42] Ibid. p.48.

contrary, although in smaller quantities, the trade of enamelled porcelain enjoyed steady growth. The informal market of enamelled porcelain thus attracted more dealers into the trade, resulting in an increasing number of porcelain shops at Canton during this period.

This chapter also shed light on the discussion of enamelled porcelain production. It challenged the unchanged assumption that Canton has its own enamelled workshops of painting porcelain around the 1730s. By drawing attention to Chinese textual records and the data from the EEIC, this research demonstrated that it was not until the late 1750s, Canton started to produce enamelled porcelain of a large scale.

# CHAPTER 6. A New Context of Porcelain Trade 1760-1770

> We were then shown the difference processes used in finishing the China ware. In one long gallery, we found upwards of a hundred persons at work in sketching or finishing the various ornaments upon each particular piece of the ware, some parts being executed by men of very advanced age, and others by children even so young as six or seven years. Mr. Devisme then led us to some of their most celebrated painters upon glass, to the fan makers, workers in ivory, japanners, jewellers, and all the various artificers of Canton.[1]

This was a scene of painting enamels on porcelain at Canton in 1769, observed by William Hickey. Hickey's note is the earliest textual source on a porcelain painting workshop at Canton, and depicts the process of 'painting' on porcelain before the second firing. By the end of the eighteenth century, visiting porcelain painters were quite common for foreign traders. As Chevalier Charpentier Cossigny noted in 1798,

> We went to most often to the workshops of the embroiderers and the porcelain painters…if one wants to have pieces decorated according to a pattern brought from Europe, it has to be sent to Kim-tet-chim(Jingdezhen), but then one cannot have the porcelain until the following year. Travellers who cannot wait can buy white pieces already

[1] Alfred Spencer, (ed.), *Memoirs of William Hickey (1749-1775)* (2 volumes, London & Blackett, Ltd., 1913), vol.1, p.210. Available online at: https://archive.org/details/memoirsofwilliam015028mbp, accessed 1 April 2016.

> enamelled (glazed), which are painted under your eyes. The decoration is applied to the surface of the enamel and fuses with it by firing.[2]

We also have visual sources of porcelain workshops. Figure 6-1 shows that painters were painting porcelain at two workshops in Canton, which was similar to Hickey's observation. These workshops were quite close to each other and there was another one behind these two, suggesting that this was not a small scale operation. The description and the visual source may not perfectly correspond to the historical reality or tell exactly the truth, as the description was written several years later by the memoirist. However, the author must have been impressed by such a production line. It was certainly not a small workshop, indicating potential production capacity. Thus the description from William Hickey is of great importance. The scale of the production and the organisation of craftsmen indicated that this workshop was capable of mass production, and there were probably other similar workshops.

[2] C.Charpentier Cossigny, *Voyage à Canton* (Paris, 1798), cited in Michel Beurdeley, Guy Raindre, *Qing Porcelain Famille Verte, Famille Rose* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p.192.

Figure 6-1 Two porcelain workshops at Canton.
Gouache on paper, H: 53.0 cm, Width: 39.1 cm, early nineteenth century. Photo Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum E81592

For many years, the answer as to when exactly Canton started to produce enamelled porcelain remained unclear. Current scholarship believes that around the 1730s and 1740s, Canton already established enamelled porcelain workshops.[3] Jörg believes that Canton established a local porcelain painting workshop (in Canton) around the late 1740s, because of the number of undecorated porcelains that were delivered to Canton in the 1750s.[4] He further provided textual evidence from a

[3] Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focus on the XIX$^{th}$ Century and Surveying Polychrome Porcelain Production during the Qing Dynasty 1644-1908* (Paris: Vio International, 2001), p.50. Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain and Its Influence on European Wares* (Granada: London, 1979), p.203.Luisa E.Mengoni and Rose Kerr, *Chinese Export Ceramics* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2011), p.59.

[4] C. J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Martinus NIjhoff, 1982), p.126, and Appendix 11. His evidence is from the imported pieces that in the early 1750s, there was a sudden increasing quantity of white pieces.

supercargo's report, referring to a 'completely white piece in order to be painted here (Canton)' to support the idea that Canton was capable of producing enamelled porcelain.[5] However, the latter evidence was dated 1772, which was two decades later than those white pieces.[6] Such evidences could also be interpreted to mean that those undecorated pieces were not intended to be enamelled at Canton, but for selling as final products, or for decorating in the Netherlands. Helen Espir has shown in her comprehensive study on European decorated Chinese porcelain that, as early as 1720, the Dutch painter had already started to paint enamel on Chinese porcelain.[7]

Moreover, the existence of enamel porcelain workshops in the 1740s is not supported by the data collected from VOC and EEIC trade records, which shows no evidence of the growth of imported pieces of enamelled porcelain in the 1740s.[8] Only in the late 1750s did the quantities of exported pieces of enamelled porcelain at Canton increase explicitly. I will show this in the following sections of this chapter.

According to private trade records, such as the data on armorial porcelain, whose armorial porcelain was imported in growing numbers in the 1750s,[9] it could be argued that Canton might have established workshops on enamelled porcelain production in the 1750s. However, even if there was an enamelled porcelain workshop in the 1750s, the production scale would not be as big as Hickey had observed.

Questions follow from the undeniable evidence that Canton was becoming a crucial player in producing enamelled porcelain in the 1760s. How was this possible

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch Trade*, p.353, note 131.
[7] Helen Espir, *European Decoration on Oriental Porcelain 1700-1830* (London, 2005), p.151. This book is by far the most comprehensive study on this subject. Hellen is a collector and an independent collector of Chinese export porcelain.
[8] See the previous chapter: Chapter 5.
[9] The number of armorial services reached its peak during the 1750s. See, David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1974), pp.106-107; David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* (Heirloom & Howard Ltd., 2003), p.75.

when there was no evidence of such a shift of production to Canton of a previous time? And how did the new conditions of trade in the 1750s affect local manufacturers?

This chapter explores the factors that had an impact on this situation. It argues that production at Canton was associated with changing trade at Canton. I seek to show that the policies regulating the Canton trade in the 1750s had a direct impact on the porcelain trade, combining all the events that took place in the 1750s. It argues that the late 1760s were an important time for porcelain dealers to set up their own workshops, as the one depicted by William Hickey.

The porcelain trade has been studied from an economic history point of view and from the perspective of material culture, but rarely from the point of view of the Canton trade system or under Canton merchant's scheme. Paul A. Van Dyke in his recent research contributed much to the current scholarship. Based on extensive archival resources, his research provides valuable and quite complete records of some of the porcelain dealers' trading activities, especially dealers of the second half of the eighteenth century. After years of archival research, he published a series of books on Canton trade and merchants; the latest volume touches upon porcelain dealers. As he shows, 'the porcelain and silk chapters were especially time consuming owing to the fact that there were hundreds of these men.'[10] Most of them were small dealers and they were not Hong merchants. This means that we have relatively less documentation about them. However, it was they who channelled the vast porcelain trade with European Companies and supercargoes. In his research, Van Dyke has provided thirteen prominent porcelain dealers and miscellaneous porcelain dealers trading

[10] Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).

activities. He has listed each of the prominent porcelain dealer's trade history with East India Companies chronologically. This volume of research has followed his previous studies on Canton trade and merchants, in which he attempted to show what has actually happened along with the trade. The study on porcelain dealers thus resulted in a study of general trading history. Questions about how it was possible for the shift of production took place remains unanswered.

My research continues to explore a more detailed historical context. If we look at it in a general picture, it is to ask, what exactly happened to porcelain trade. What factors have influenced porcelain dealers? What porcelain dealers' trading activities affected the trade? Such questions are particularly crucial to an understanding of Chinese export porcelain trade and the understanding of enamelled porcelain trade. Answers to these questions can help us to understand why the shift of manufacture took place at this particular time, and the consequences of such a shift. In order to address each change clearly, a contextualised and chronological approach is needed.

## 6.1. Relation between Hong merchants and non-Hong merchant Porcelain Dealers

The porcelain trade was carried out by a group of dealers who were not Hong merchants. In my own archival research of EEIC's records, I have found that most of the porcelain dealers were not Hong merchants throughout the eighteenth century. It seems that minor trades such as the porcelain trade was not influenced very much by the Hong merchants. However, in the mid-eighteenth century, the link between Hong merchants and porcelain dealers was much more visible than in the previous period.

The EEIC records show that in the late eighteenth century, three porcelain dealers transformed themselves into tea merchants and stopped supplying porcelain. (see Section 5 of this chapter) Van Dyke has shown that seven porcelain dealers traded silk in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.[11]

In the decades of the 1740s and 1750s, the Chinese government began to require that all the foreign traders engage one or two Hong merchants for each ship to stand as security merchants for customs payment.[12] There were about twenty-six Hongs that were licensed for foreign trade.[13] Only six of them were appointed as Security Merchants, who petitioned for their monopoly of the trade. They were given sole securing rights to trade and ship abroad and were responsible for the duties and charges to the Qing government. Through such an arrangement, the government could best secure the collection of revenues with the least trouble. However, this system gradually caused the Security Merchants problems.

The trade between Security Merchants and the East India Company was basically bartering tea, silk and wool goods. Security Merchants were responsible for the goods that European Companies brought to China, such as wool. This meant that they had to take over all the goods unloaded from European ships. For most of the cases, they were unable to pay for all the goods at one time, and it would take up to two years to balance their accounts.[14] Even the Security Merchants managed to balance his account as soon as possible; he would need to sell all the goods unloaded from European ships as well. He was answerable to the government for duties on the

[11] Van Dyke, *Success and Failure*, p.166.
[12] Weng Eang Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684-1798* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), pp.104-106.
[13] Ibid, p.93.
[14] Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company, Trading to China 1635-1834* (Five volumes, Clarendon, 1929), vol.V, p.24.

woollen goods for those he was not the purchaser of. Security Merchants were responsible for the completion of payment of duties and charges for export tea and silk as well. It is worth noting that only Security Merchants were responsible for duties and charges, although all Hong merchants were entitled to trade with Europeans. The responsibility for both sides created insuperable difficulties on account of Security Merchants.

Gradually, Hong merchants were less willing to take on the role of security merchant. The supercargo of the EEIC complained,

> The merchant…was obliged to make good the duties both out and home, altho'he himself did not deal with you for a single farthing. The merchant therefore…always expected and took it for granted that you were to deal with him for the greatest share of your concern. As a result, there have refused to be the EEIC Securities.[15]

In 1754, four merchants refused to serve as Security Merchants for six EEIC ships, due to potential losses in trade.[16] Throughout the 1750s, there were about twenty Hong merchants, however, the number of the Security Merchants was small; for example, only five were appointed by the Hoppo as Security Merchants in the year 1759. The lack of Security Merchants resulted in a shortage of supply of goods to the Companies. As an alternative, the East India Companies sought commodities from those shopkeepers. During the mid-eighteenth century, the trade with Hong merchants were confronting problems such as delay of payment and shortage of supply to the East India Company. This situation created trading opportunities for porcelain dealers who were not Hong merchants. In the late 1750s, the suppliers for the VOC porcelain

[15] IOR/R/10/3, 5 July 1754.
[16] Ibid.

trade were mainly outside merchants, and in the year 1757, the VOC put an end to the monopoly of Hong merchants.[17] This explains why the number of shopkeepers grew rapidly during the 1740s and 1750s.[18] The association of Security Merchants and the growing shopkeepers is not yet recognised in current studies, and is generally ignored and overlooked. However, the link between Hong merchants and non-Hong merchant porcelain dealers constitutes a very important factor that influenced the trade, and is ultimately helpful for an understanding of the porcelain trade.

The business of shopkeepers and porcelain dealers never raised attention from the Qing local government. However, when Hong merchants, especially Security Merchants, were confronting the problems of the mid-eighteenth century, the local government realised that the regulation of shopkeepers and their trade was necessary, although individually, their porcelain trade was in small scale. Local authorities believed that the collective scale of trade first affected the trade of Hong merchants, and more importantly, their trade was largely left to be free.

The link between Hong merchants and porcelain dealers of the eighteenth century Canton is rarely mentioned or studied in present scholarship. Yet, their relations have played an important role in the trade. As we can see from this section, the problems of Security Merchants resulted in a shortage of the goods, which led the East India Companies to purchase porcelain from outside non-Hong merchants. This explains why during the 1750s, the number of porcelain shops increased. As we will see in the following section, because of the increasing number of porcelain shops and trade, the local government started to take the control of the porcelain trade.

[17] Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p.114.
[18] Appendix A and Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p.116.

## 6.2. The Regulations of Shopkeepers in 1755

It is significant that in 1755, a major step was taken to regulate various types of dealers at Canton, legally and functionally. The responsibility of Hong merchants was clarified. In regard to non-Hong merchants, trade was restricted to retail trade.

The reason for the local government to regulate was to prevent evil trade and to collect customs duties. It was believed by the local government that much of the trade conducted by those shopkeepers was not being reported, and that customs duties were being evaded. Several regulations were announced relating to Hong Merchants, Shopkeepers, and interpreters. Of all the regulations, the most important one of concerning porcelain trade was the reformation on shopkeepers.[19] The local government wanted to regulate the retail trade and collect their customs. This regulation, as we will see, had direct impact to the porcelain trade of a later period.

The order given by the local government was that shopkeepers without licences were forbidden to deal with Europeans under Hong Dispatch directly. It seems that the trade of porcelain was restrained. However, if we have a closer look at this regulation, we may find that there was space for shopkeepers to play around. The purpose of this order was not to expel shopkeepers from trade, but instead to regulate them and collect customs.

Before such claim had a chance to be put into effect, it was challenged both by the Hong merchants and the European companies. The Hong merchants were afraid that such policy would do harm to their partnership with outside merchants and shopkeepers. They relied on shopkeepers to supply the inland goods, and were trade

[19] IOR/R/10/4 1755, p.27; IOR/R/10/3, p.358. 1755.

partners with shopkeepers. The shopkeepers channelled goods through their Hongs and paid a certain amount of fees to them so as to evade custom duties. If shopkeepers were prohibited from trading directly with Europeans and their trade had to be channelled through Hongs with proper transactions, this meant that the income mentioned above would be gone.

For European companies, these shopkeepers and outside merchants were the only channel if foreign trade wanted to deal with the country merchant who annually brought down goods here for sale. Shopkeepers were the ordinary channel for dealing with commodities in the private trade of supercargoes and officers. As for supercargoes, the trade on behalf of the Company provided a means of getting into touch with country merchants when Hong merchants offered too few goods. These shopkeepers' goods were always the backup for the Companies if the Hong merchant could not meet their requirements. They also wanted to maintain competition between outside merchants and Hong merchants, because if the trade was totally left to Hong merchants, they could easily control the market by setting up prices.[20] The Supercargoes of the EEIC, VOC and French East India Company together wrote a letter to Tsontuck stating that first the new regulation of the trade would in a short time decrease the Emperor's customs, and secondly, that they requested the liberty to trade with either Hong merchants, shop men or others. [21]

Together with the petition from the Hong merchants and the European Companies, this order was revised later in July. The Viceroy and Hoppo realised and noted, 'To prohibit all of them [shopkeepers] from dealing with the Europeans would neither be

[20] IOR/R/10/3,17 July 1755.
[21] Ibid.

comfortable to reason, nor be regarded as in the public good.'[22] On the 22nd July, the Viceroy declared that the local officials would provide a list of shops that were permitted to carry on retail trade with Europeans, and also to deal with them for their private merchandize, and these shopkeepers were obliged to enter into joint bonds.[23] Shopkeepers had to register in groups of five with the Nanhai County (*Nanhai xian*, 南海县), which was the fourth and lowest level of trade administration in Canton.[24] The registration required written commitment from all members of each five-person group that each would be jointly liable for any unpaid foreign debts of other members of the five persons registered group. [25] The Council for China was informed that:

> The shopmen by order this day attended the Quanchufu [prefecture of Guangzhou] who acquainted them with the fact that the Tsongtonk [viceroy] was willing to grant them all indulgence possible. As a proof of this he was directed to inform them that they would be allowed to deal in China ware, wrought silks, and every other article as before, with the restriction only that they should not deal in large chests of tea.[26]

We have no further information about this registration. We do not know who were registered as a group. It is believed that such an arrangement was not conducive to large-scale trade, and instead brought great benefits to shopkeepers. As was noted, 'this license was extremely satisfactory to the greatest part of the Shopmen who

[22] Ibid, 5 September, 1755. This regulation was issued by the local government, the original language was in Chinese, however, there are no records survived in the Chinese sources.
[23] Ibid.
[24] The administration of the trade was supervised by civil officials, who were appointed by and reported to the Court. Key officials were the Viceroy (the Governor-General), the Governor and the Hoppo.Jurisdiction was divided by district among the magistrates of Nanhai district, Panyu district. Beside Nanhan xian, there were other three administration officials, regardless their rank, they were Hoppo, (户部)，Viceory or Tsontuck(总督), the governor of Guangdong(抚院, known as Fohien). See Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, p.194;
[25] Morse, *Chronicles*, vol, V.p.29, p.39; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, p.94 and p.205.
[26] IOR/R/10/3, 22 July, 1755.

sought only to carry on their small trade as usual.'[27] It was unclear from the 1755 regulations whether the private trade with supercargoes was charged with duties or not. It is not known whether the 1755 regulation imposing collective responsibility on registered shopkeepers was enforced, or how long and how carefully this regulation was supervised. Although it seemed that the declaration was quite clear that these shopkeepers were listed and each Hong merchant was responsible for a group of them, in practice, it did not necessarily work exactly according to this plan; at least from the EEIC's records, the trade with these shopkeepers would never become a concern again.

It is quite clear that the local government did not pay much attention to restraining the trade but left the power to the Hong merchants, which was already in practice for a long time. Thus, regulations in 1755 did not bring any negative impact to the porcelain trade. On the contrary, it reaffirmed the network and partnership between Hong merchants and non-Hong merchants. It also reaffirmed the legal authority of outside merchants' retail trade.

Porcelain dealers appeared to benefit from this new regulation, as 'China ware' dealers were permitted to tender on equal terms with monopolists to supply Europeans; neither a luxury item like silk nor a consumable and perishable like tea, this staple was a household item of comparatively low value, but large market; it was shipped as a lining for the holds of ships, partly as a ballast and partly to keep the tea chests and silk off the damp and seepage at the bottom of ships.[28]

[27] Ibid.
[28] Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, p.94.

## 6.3. Trade confined to Canton in 1757

As discussed above, the situation regarding Security Merchants and the regulation of shopkeepers resulted in an unquestionably beneficial trading environment for porcelain dealers. In the year 1757, another important factor stimulated the porcelain trade. The confinement of Canton as the single port for European trade resulted in more predictable trade for the local merchants.

Although local government tried to maintain and regulate trade in the 1750s, East India Companies were not satisfied, especially when there were not sufficient Security Merchants who could take over their imported goods. As mentioned above, the EEIC complained that several Hong merchants turned them down. Other companies had a similar experience: for example, in the year 1754, two Hong merchants refused to allow the Swedish East India Company to be their Security Merchants.[29] It was at this time that the EEIC sent supercargoes to Ningpo and traded there in 1755.[30] The attempt to set up a new port at Ningpo eventually failed. In the course of the negotiations and discussions, the Qing Government confined Canton as the single port for European traders and later the Americans too, until four more ports were opened by the treaty settlement in the conclusion of the Opium War.

From 1757 onwards, trade with European companies was confined by the Qing Government to a single port. Such arrangements have been discussed in many studies. It has been analysed as an example of the extreme nature of the Qing Government's

[29] Lisa Hellman, *Navigating the Foreign Quarters: Everyday life of the Swedish East India Company employees in Canton and Macao 1730-1830* (Department of History, Stockholm University, 2015), p.44.

[30] Earl H.Pritchard has discussed this issues in details, see, E.H.Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations 1750-1800* (Washington: Pullman, 1936), pp.124-132.

isolationist policies. The most influential argument was from Karl Marx, who affirmed that the early Qing dynasty's policy of trade was closed and isolated. [31] His point of view has been widely spread and taught in the academic community and became the mainstream view of the Qing Dynasty, namely that the closed-door policy resulted in a decline. Karl Marx was to contribute to the flow of literature that informed political thought throughout the period. Owing to the fact that the Emperor Qianlong had turned down the proposal from the first British diplomatic mission and the failure of Canton System as well as the Opium War, this theory has been rationalised by several generations of scholars.[32]

There is another group of studies that believes that the confinement of Canton actually brought positive impact to the trade. Among those who attempted to understand the development of the economy, there were those who focused their attention on the increasing general populations, the high profits derive from technological innovation, the increasing demand from domestic market and the

[31] Karl Marx, 'The Chinese Revolution and the European Revolution' in *Selected Works of Marx and Engels,* (People's Publishing House, 1972), Vol.II, pp.6-7.

[32]Dai Yi, *Qianlong di jiqi shidai* [Emperor Qianlong and his period] (Beijing: Zhongguo remin daxue chubanshe, 2008); Gao Wangling, *Shiba shiji zhongguo de jingji fazhan he zhengfu zhengce*[The political and economic developments of the eighteenth century China] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995); Wu Jianyong, *Shibashiji de zhongguo yu shijie: duiwai guangxi juan* [A study on realtions between China and foreign countries during the 18th century] (Shenyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 1999). Western scholars' work, see, John K. Fairbank, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 10, Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Part 1. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1978). John K. Fairbank and Liu Kwang-ching, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 11, Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Part 2. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

emergence of foreign trade.[33] They believed that the Qing Government intended to promote the overseas trade instead of prohibiting foreign trade. This research agrees with this argument that the confinement of Canton has actually stimulated trade, as well as the local manufactures. The interpretation that the Qing Government's policy was to 'close the Chinese gate to the rest of world' is simply erroneous. In fact, many interactions, especially through local dealers and European traders, forged closer links. As mentioned above, the 1755 regulations legitimated shopkeepers and outside dealers to conduct a private trade of porcelain.

Thus, when Canton became the sole place to trade, with the expectation of a certain number of arriving ships, the trade was more predictable and less volatile. The business between Chinese dealers and foreign traders was often short term in the previous period. This explains why the number of porcelain dealers was fluctuating and some of them joined the trade and they might disappear in the next season. Most porcelain dealers were non-Hong merchants and some of them were travelling merchants. This means they did not have warehouses for stock, and that they would need to consider the risk of their parcels being refused. For example, in 1756, the service supplied by a Hong merchant was rejected by the VOC supercargoes because

[33] See William Rowe, *Saving the World: Chen Hong mou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Pierre-Etienne Will, R.Bin Wong and James Z. Lee, *Nourish the People: The State Civilian Granary System in China 1650-1850* (University of Michigan Press, 1991); R.Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Helen Dunstan, *State or Merchant: Political Economy and Political Process in 1740s China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Peter C. Perdue, 'Property Rights on Imperial China's Frontiers' in John F. Richards (ed.), *Land, Property, and the Environment* (Oakland: Institute for Contemporary Studies, CA, 2002), pp.71-93; Paul A. Van Dyke, T*he Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University of Press, 2005); *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University of Press, 2011); *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).

the shape of the dishes did not meet their requirements.[34] Such a rejection could be handled well by Hong merchants, as they could put these pieces in stock and wait for the next season or sell them to other companies. However, for an outside merchant who did not necessarily have a warehouse, such a rejection could spell disaster. However, when Canton became the single port, it would be less risky to open a shop and establish a partnership with Hong merchants.

For East India Companies, the confinement of Canton brought difficulty to trade in China, as they wanted more ports to be open. However, it was beneficial to local dealers. It was from this point that trade at Canton could be predictable. Because Canton became the single port, local merchants would have some basic ideas on the number of ships arriving at Canton each season. Thus, in terms of the investment in trade, the risk was reduced.

## 6.4. The Establishment of Co-Hong in 1760

The confinement of Canton brought certain advantages for local merchants and also increasing competition among sellers. In order to keep the monopoly of the trade, the Hong merchants of Canton formed themselves into the Co-Hong (*Gonghang,*公行) in 1760 to regulate the trade of their respective members and to consolidate their monopoly.[35] They simply acted as a unified body, which set prices and maintained collective discipline in dealing between its members and Western traders.[36] It is

[34] Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch Trade*, p.114.
[35] Co-Hong was first established in 1720 and was soon dissolved in 1721.
[36] Liu Yong, *The Dutch East India Company's Tea Trade with China: 1757 – 1781* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p.98.

important to note, however, that the Co-Hong functioned as a representative of trade to secure a steady stream of revenue for the Qing Government and the controlling of the foreign trade. This was a great opportunity for Canton Hong merchants, as they came to monopolise foreign trade with several European nations.

The EEIC and other trading companies took notice of the increase in the merchants' collective power, indicated by the formalisation of the Co-Hong. In a 1760 letter from the EIC supercargoes (officials in charge of the trade) to the Company's Council of Bombay and of Fort St. George, the officials complained of 'Encroachments of the Mandarins and Merchants' stating that they are becoming so Burthensome that unless the several Companies Trading here should fall on some Scheme to defeat their projects, we are very doubtful the Terms will in a few Years be too exorbitant and too disadvantageous to continue the Sending Ships [sic].[37]

While the situation was in reality less dire than the EEIC believed, the letter shows an illustration of the concerns from foreign companies. By allowing the Co-Hong to trade with the foreign companies, the Qing government also concerned the control of the trade, as it regulated the Co-Hong by making sure there was always healthy competition between factions within the institution.[38] Therefore, when it felt the Co-Hong's power had grown too great, the Qing Government stepped in as it did in 1764, and the governor general and Hoppo declared, 'a monopoly of the highest degree and contrary to the law'.[39] This resulted in the Qing granting '30 percent of the tea trade to the inland merchants',[40] a move that effectively undermined the monopolistic

[37] 'Letter from Supercargoes to President and Council of Bombay and of Fort St. George, October 30, 1760', cited in Hosea Morse, *The Chronicles,* vol. 5, p.93.
[38] Van Dyke, *Politics and Strategies,* pp.57-59.
[39] Ibid, p.58.
[40] Ibid.

tendencies of the Co-Hong.[41] The Co-Hong system only lasted for a decade, and eventually, within the involvement of the EEIC, the Co-Hong was abolished in 1771.[42]

Although the Co-Hong system was abolished in 1771, the networks of outside merchants and shopkeepers remained. The Co-Hong were focused on trade in and around Canton, so gradually Chinese inland merchants' agents began to connect with the Canton Trade, which had the effect of funnelling trade between the European merchant and Chinese Canton merchants. From there, the shopkeepers, for example, who were allowed to sell certain articles only to foreigners, were bound to ship them off through a Hong merchant; and every series of five shopkeepers became joint-security to a Hong merchant for payment of the duties in their trade. The Hong merchants were, in turn bound mutually to the Government for duties owed by them individually, and also for their respective debts incurred during their legitimate trade with foreigners, for which the Government became a guarantor.

When Canton was confined to a single port, Co-Hong was eager to recruit merchants to participate in the trade, as it found it difficult to deal with the ever growing trade. As was noted,

> Soon after the establishment of the Co-Hong, its merchants found that they could not attend to every part of the immense business monopolized & in consequence the trade in China ware, shoes, clothes, ivory & tortoise shell works and a few other things was thrown open. The Hong still retained in the trade of Tea and Silk. It was soon made the interests of

[41] Ibid.

[42] One common account of the Co-Hong's demise, given mainly scholars working from the records of the EIC, holds that the EIC paid a bribe of 100,000 taels to have the Co-Hong dissolved. Van Dyke argued, however, because he finds it extremely unlikely that a one-time bribe could have dissolved the Co-Hong. Instead, he posits that it was a decision made by the Qing Government. Van Dyke, *Politics and Strategies*, p.62.

> some of the poorer Security Merchants to lend their names to less privileged hands of Men who not being licensed to carry on such business are called outside men or shop-men. Among these outside men are many whose names are a better recommendation of Teas and Silks than those of several Hong merchants.[43]

When Co-Hong required more dealers to participate in trade, these shopkeepers and outside merchants became the main group to co-operate with. This resulted in a win-win situation. For Hong merchants, they could now collect more duties and charges to the local government from those outside merchants. For small outside merchants and shopkeepers, they were now entitled to the right to deal directly with foreign traders, although they had practiced in this way in the previous period, but from 1760 onwards, it was official and legal. In addition, if they worked closely with the Hong merchants, they would also have the chance to deal in tea.

In order to control these shopkeepers, a specific street was created for these shops. It was newly built on the waterfront at Whampoa and a watch would be posted on each side in order to obstruct the passage to the city and keep the seafarers in order. Before 1760, the Chinese shops and merchants were scattered throughout the western suburbs, on a dozen or so streets. A Swedish map shows the porcelain shops on an east street and the silk shops on a north south street located a couple of blocks north

[43] Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835* (University of Delaware Press, 1981). LCP, Mcneilledge, 'Notes', pp.28-29.

of the quay.[44] In 1760, many of these outside merchants were required to move to China Street so that that they could be monitored more closely. The by-product of this regulation was the gradual emergence of a very tight community, where Chinese merchants, officials and foreign traders all lived together in the same location. Foreigners could find anything they wanted on China Street or Hog Lane without having to wander about the western suburbs, as they had done in the past.[45]

Dalrymple, who was in Canton in 1760, witnessed the changes that took place in trade that year. He mentioned that all the licensed shopkeepers were moved to 'One single street, which was separated by a gate from the rest of Canton, only open to the Wharf, on the banks of the River, where the European Factories are situated.[46] The street later was known as 'China Street' or 'New China Street'.

From 1760 onwards, the factory and the two streets were usually depicted on paintings and porcelain. The scene of Hongs and factory was usually depicted on a big bowl, as called 'Hong Bowl'. A large bowl of this kind would have been used to serve punch, which gives such bowl another name 'punch bowl'. Hong bowls of this kind have been used for the historical discussion of Hong merchants' residences, which provide supplementary information for the map and textual records.[47] Decorated in over-glaze enamels and gold gilding, the bowls that Figure 6-2 shows

[44] Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Shopping Streets in the Foreign Quarter at Canton 1760-1843' *Revista de Cultura* 43 (2013), p.93. This article was later published as a chapter in Paul A. Van Dyke, Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), Chapter 9, pp.83-101. Lisa Hellman in her Ph.D research, has featured Canton as a social space which created social connections among different European East India Companies. Lisa Hellman, *Navigating the foreign quarters: everyday life of the Swedish East India Company employees in Canton and Macao 1730-1830* (Stockholm, 2015), pp.108-103.

[45] Van Dyke, Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories,* p.2.

[46] Van Dyke, 'The Shopping Streets ', p.93.

[47] Kee Il Choi Jr., 'Hong Bowls and the Landscape of the China Trade' *The Magazine Antiques,* 156, 4(1999), pp.500-509.Van Dyke, Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories*, Chapter 1.

were carefully designed and painted, as the details were delivered exquisitely. The two entrances of the street are marked: China Street (*jing yuan,* 靜遠, with characters in traditional Chinese form) and Hog Lane (*dou lan,* 豆欄).

The establishment of Co-Hong and the reform of the shopping streets in 1760 resulted in a new situation that boosted the porcelain trade in the following period, as evident in next section.


Figure 6-2 A Hong Bowl and its details of the entrances of two streets, *c.* 1770.
Diameter: 40cm.
Photo Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

## 6.5. New Situation

The changes in trade in the 1750s resulted in a new situation for the porcelain trade. Firstly, as trading tea became officially legal with co-operation with Hong merchants, some porcelain dealers reoriented themselves to a different trade. As mentioned, outside merchants and shopkeepers were entitled with Hong to trade. Under the legal

and regulated system, naturally, relatives of Hong merchants, clerks, outside traders and shopkeepers were able to increase their trade. Some of them eventually developed themselves into Chief Hong merchants. According to Chen's research, there were seven outside traders, and five shopkeepers became Hong merchants between 1760 and 1843, which was the largest group among others such as clerks and relatives.[48]

Porcelain dealers took advantage of this policy to expand their business, and eventually became Hong merchants in the 1780s. Although the trade of principal items such as tea was still under the privilege of Chief Hong merchants, porcelain dealers had the best opportunity to raise their capital by starting their tea business with the East India Companies. The examination of the VOC and the EEIC's records shows us that some of the dealers who were originally porcelain dealers started their tea business in the early 1760s. Four main porcelain suppliers managed to expand their trade from porcelain to tea. It is worth noting that from 1760 onwards, their business extended to the tea trade and stopped porcelain trade. Table 3 shows that the porcelain trade of Sweetia and Geequa experienced growth during the period before 1760. The turning point took place at 1761, when their porcelain trade dropped sharply, and from 1760 onwards, their names remain silent in porcelain trade but of tea and other trade. As the main suppliers of porcelain, their reducing investment clearly had a direct impact on trade.

[48] Chen Guodong, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843* (Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1990), pp.153-156.

**Sweetia**

| Year | Amount of Silver(taels) |
|---|---|
| 1742 | 19 |
| 1751 | 1215 |
| 1753 | 1825 |
| 1755 | 7944 |
| 1761 | 2518 |

**Geequa**

| Year | Amount of Silver(taels) |
|---|---|
| 1740 | Unknown |
| 1742 | 78 |
| 1750 | 734 |
| 1751 | 2258 |
| 1761 | 790 |

Table 3 The Investment of Sweetia and Geequa's porcelain trade from 1740s to 1761.Source: Appendix A.

The trade pattern of Hong merchants was quite visible to us because of their monopoly of principle commodities, such as tea and wool.[49] However, the transformation from a small porcelain dealer to a Hong merchant was not visible before the investigation of their trade activities. The combination of archival records of their business and research from Hong merchant scholars made the transformation explicit. The trade pattern of Sweetia and Geequa provided some of the most important episodes of the mercantile in the 1760s. The examination of their businesses gave good insights into Canton trade. This demonstrates that trade at Canton was dynamic. It was not only reflected by the trade of certain commodities, but also by the

[49] The value of the woollen trade transacted at canton was fairly small, rarely more than 100,000 taels, but the quantity of woollen brought to Canton increased in the 1770s.the value annually reached up to 400,000 taels. See Chen, *The Insolvency*, pp.53-69.

local dealers, which shows us how local dealers adapted and developed their business to trade in different situations.

Apart from some of the big porcelain dealers that moved to the tea trade in the early 1760s, all the events mentioned above also resulted in decreasing the total number of porcelain dealers. As shown in the records, during the 1740s-1750s, there were about 58 porcelain dealers at Canton, but only about 49 were left in the trade during the 1760s.[50] In accordance with the Chinese authorities' efforts to concentrate all the trade into the hands of a small group of Co-Hong merchants, the small outside merchant was still allowed to trade, but used a Hong name for which they were obliged to pay 3 percent commission plus export duties. Moreover, the concentration of shops, the Hong merchants and in addition to the high rents, 'their Lordships the Hong Merchants will certainly have imposed further dues unknown to us on this trade in order to ensure that those poor fellows do not gain much from their modest profits.'[51] As a result, some small porcelain dealers could not afford the rent and the commission was eliminated from the trade. Consequently, with regard to porcelain trade, because of their involvement in tea trade, their trade in porcelain reduced accordingly. This also resulted in a sudden drop in VOC porcelain trade as well. In the year 1760, the VOC imported more than 731,000 pieces but decreased at only half the amount in the following season in 1761, with only 355,000 pieces being imported.[52]

The reduced number of porcelain dealers, together with the growing demand, the price of porcelain at Canton increased during the season 1761. Table 4 shows both

[50] This number is calculated from the EEIC records and VOC records. EEIC: Appendix A; the VOC records from Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade*, p.116, note 80.
[51] Cited in Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade*, p.116, note 78. V.O.C. 4384, General Report, 11 Jan. 1761.
[52] Appendix B.

types of blue and white porcelain and enamelled porcelain saw an increase of price from EEIC records. Jörg has shown the average price of porcelain from the VOC records by using ten successive years' data.[53] His data shows there was no increase after the establishment of Co-Hong.[54] Due to the fact his data was collected as an average, and no price for each year was provided, we cannot conclude that the price of porcelain in 1761 remained unchanged or increased. However, the EEIC records yield the very striking fact that the price was greatly affected by the factors mentioned earlier.

**Blue and white porcelain (Plate)**

| Type | 1755 | 1759 | 1761 | 1768 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Price (taels of silver) | 0.033 | 0.027 | 0.032 | 0.033 |

**Enamelled porcelain(Bowl)**

| Type | 1751 | 1753 | 1761 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Price (taels of silver) | 0.2 | 0.15 | 0.22 |

Table 4 The EEIC's purchase price of porcelain at Canton between 1755 and 1768, per/taels.
Source: IOR/G/12/56, 21 August, 1751; IOR/G/12/57, 14 August, 1753. R/10/4, 18 September, 1755; R/10/4, 30 March 1759; R/10/5, 10 August, 1761; For 1768, see Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain and Its Influence on European Wares* (London and New York: Granada,1979), pp.133-134.

This section shows the consequences to the porcelain trade of all the events occurring between 1755 and 1760. The examination of the consequences is crucial to an understanding of porcelain trade of a later period. It shows that because of all the regulations, the confinement of Canton as well as the establishment of Co-Hong

[53] Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade*, p.120.
[54] Ibid., pp.120-121.

promoted some big porcelain dealers into tea trade, which eventually made them Hong merchants in the later period. Those regulations also eliminated some of smaller dealers who could not afford the admission fees to participate in trade. With regard to this situation, one would assume that the trade of porcelain might have declined. Yet the data of the VOC and the EEIC yield the striking fact that the trade was rather increasing, dramatically (I discuss this in the following section). If we look closer at the records, we find a dramatic increase in enamelled porcelain that contributed a major role in such growth. The most important factor that could be demonstrated here is probably the increased production of local workshops at Canton.

When porcelain shops were concentrated in two main shopping streets in 1760, with some main suppliers quitting the supply, these dealers who were engaged with the porcelain trade would need to find a way to meet growing demand. It would be reasonable to argue that the 1760s was a good time to set up local workshops of enamelled porcelain manufacture.

## 6.6. Porcelain Trade after 1760

The examination of porcelain trade from 1760 to 1780 reveals two major facts. Firstly, the trade of porcelain experienced growth during this period. And secondly, if we look closer, we find that a dramatic increase of enamelled porcelain contributed a major role to such growth. Compared with the trade of blue and white, enamelled porcelain enjoyed a sharp increase. Jörg has provided a thorough study of the porcelain trade of the VOC, but the discussion focuses on the wider context, such as how the trade was shaped by the company. This section, on the contrary, draws attentions to the insights

of the enamelled porcelain trade, and asks how it would be possible during the 1760s when the number of porcelain dealers decreased.

Owing to the absence of Canton consultation books in the 1760s, we do not have any consecutive trading contracts of the EEIC. The Seven Years War (1756-1763) between Britain and France caused another gap in the absence of records. I use the data from the VOC collected by Jörg. But it should be noted here that the EEIC trade did not stop at this period, and the private trade of porcelain constituted the largest part of the EEIC's porcelain trade. Some of the cargoes did not even carry any porcelain on the company's account. [55] For private trade, we only have the number of the porcelain chests, without details about the contents. According to Geoffrey A. Godden, Christie's Manson & Woods still hold some sales records relating to private trade. But he did not provide any reference about this which made the trace of these records impossible.

Figure 6-3 shows a striking curve of the VOC's enamelled porcelain trade during the 1750 and 1780. Figure 6-4 depicts the total number of imported enamelled porcelain by the EEIC during 1750 and 1777. The most striking phenomenon that can be observed from these figures in the development of porcelain trade at Canton from the 1760 onwards was the tremendous increase in the total pieces of enamelled porcelain.

[55] Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Market Porcelain and Its Influence on European Wares* (London: Granada, 1979), p.78.

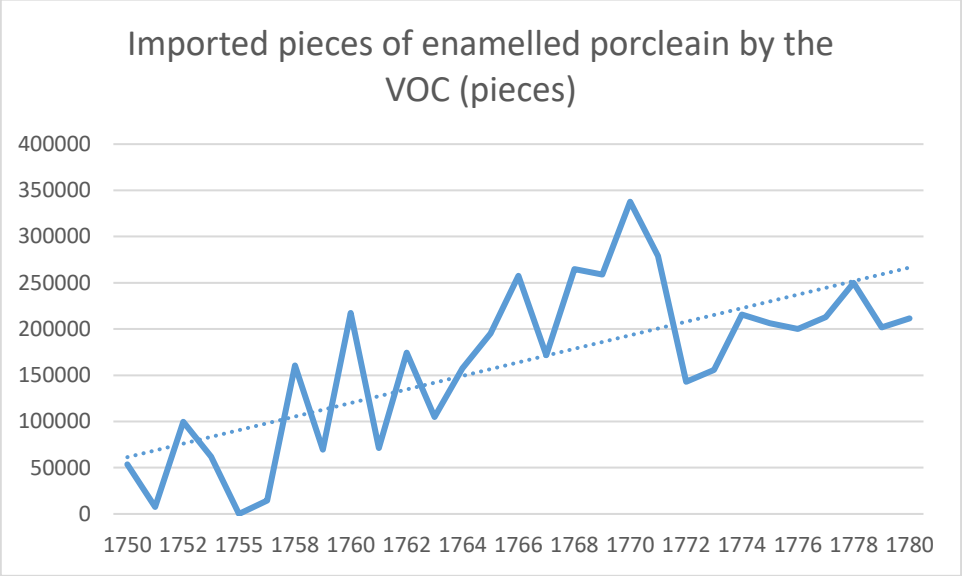


Figure 6-3 Porcelain trade of the VOC 1750-1780. Source: Appendix B.

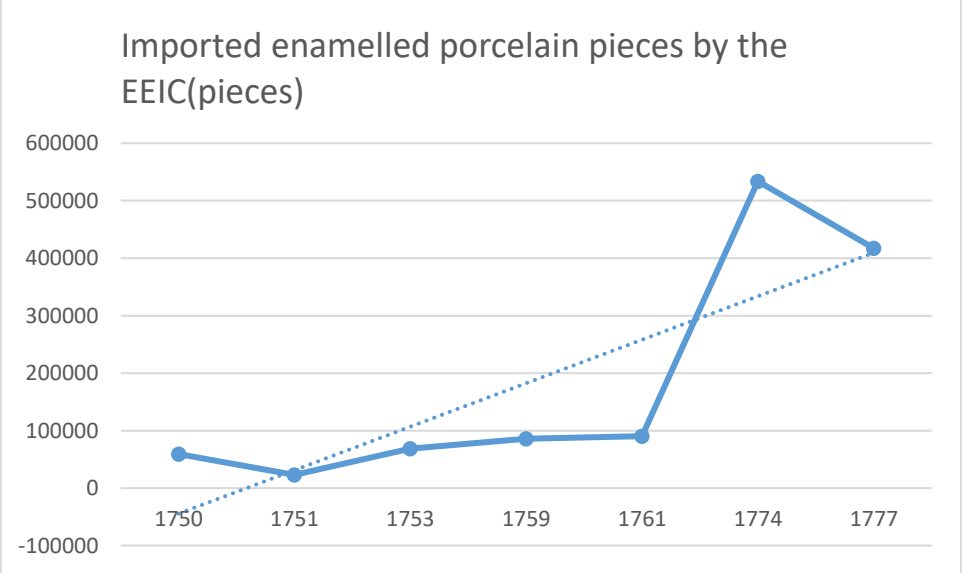


Figure 6-4 Imported enamelled porcelain pieces by the EEIC during 1750 and 1777. Source: Appendix B.

As I have shown in the previous sections, in the late 1750s and 1760s, several events resulted in a decreasing number of porcelain dealers in the trade. How, then, would it possible for the enamelled porcelain trade to enjoy such a dramatic increase

during the season 1761? The most important factor is probably the increased production of local workshops at Canton.

It is worth mentioning again the issue of when exactly Canton started to produce its enamelled porcelain. As I have shown in Chapter 5, current studies believe that enamelled porcelain in Canton began production during the 1740s.[56] In drawing attention to a different source, I use the trade data of the VOC and the EEIC to propose a different theory, by which I argue that Canton only started to produce enamelled porcelain at a large scale during the late 1750s. This issue is worthy of repetition in this chapter, because the establishment of workshops of enamelled porcelain resulted in a dramatic increase in porcelain trade. From the 1760s onwards, the production of enamelled porcelain shifted from the main site in Jingdezhen to Canton. To recognise this shift is certainly very important to studies of Chinese export porcelain. Firstly, the shift marked a different trade of enamelled porcelain from the previous period. From a production point of view, this enamelled porcelain produced in Jingdezhen were not directly sold to foreign customers, rather they were channelled by porcelain dealers and it was not particularly produced for the overseas market. The workshops at Canton were established particularly to meet the requirements of overseas markets. Only from this period onward can we determine the porcelain produced at Canton as being 'export' porcelain. Secondly, the recognition of such shift will shed light on the studies of Chinese enamelled porcelain of the later period of the eighteenth century. For curators and collectors of Chinese enamelled porcelain, it is important to understand the trade of enamelled porcelain experienced dynamics. With a better

[56] Works from Jörg, Mengoni and Shi Jingfei all agree that during the 1740s, Canton started to produce enamelled porcelain.

understanding of this trade, stylistic changes of Chinese enamelled porcelain may also be better explained.

## 6.7. Canton became a Site of Production

Some porcelain dealers' trading histories have been explored by Paul A. Van Dyke; however, because his focus is on the scale of their business, we do not get detailed insights into the porcelain itself, such as who was involved in the manufacture, and the nature of the difference of trade pattern in previous times when enamelled porcelain was totally produced in Jingdezhen, and the period after 1760s, when Canton had its own manufacture. Van Dyke managed to provide porcelain dealer's successes and failures and attempted to explain it politically. However, for porcelain dealers in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, a major part of their success was probably because of their manufacture.

Some porcelain dealers saw the potential of markets to produce enamelled porcelain, and then raised capital to finance both production and distribution. They seized the opportunities afforded by the new techniques. The most common 'China ware' in great demand was blue and white, and enamelled wares. If a porcelain dealer of the late 1750s and early 1760s wished to set up his own manufacture, it would be profitable to produce these two types of porcelain. Of course, the manufacture of porcelain required specialist facilities and equipment and techniques. For blue and white type of porcelain, it would be too difficult to set a local manufacture because of the required kiln temperature. The cobalt oxide and the layer of translucent glaze

would need at least 1300 degree of kiln temperature. It was only the potters at Jingdezhen who were capable of producing blue and white in the large dragon kiln.

However, for the production of enamelled wares, Canton did have advantages. Since it was one of the main centres of enamelled copperwares in contemporary time,[57] it is reasonable to assume that local craftsmen who were copper wares producers and painters subsequently experimented with painting enamel on porcelain and fired in a muffle kiln, which they used to fire copperware in the 1750s.

Due to the lack of materials, it is impossible to estimate how many workshops were established in Canton during the second half of the eighteenth century. However, the fragmented evidence from archival records in the later period of the 1770s suggests that porcelain dealers were key players in setting up the manufacture. As the 1772 VOC supercargo mentioned, 'completely white pieces are in order to be painted here (Canton)'.[58] In year 1778, the English supercargo reported to the EEIC's court directors:

> The China ware merchant with whom we have contracted for the investment of next year acquainted us that he had received letters from the place where it was manufactured that it would not be possible to glaze the tops of the milk pots and sugar basins, nor to have large mugs, bowls and fruit dishes ribbed; moreover, they apprehend it will be very difficult to make the patty pans exactly according to the pattern sent out, as we are convinced that no persons is more capable and that he will do his utmost to complete his contract to our satisfaction. We have no thought of

[57] Shi Jingfei, *Riyue guanghua: Qinggong huaflang* [Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court], (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2012), pp.177-179.
[58] Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch Trade*, p.126.

> changing but have strongly recommended giving orders to his agents that they comply with our directions as closely as possible.[59]

The 'China ware' merchant of this letter refers to Exchin, who monopolised EEIC's porcelain trade for several years. Records of this kind, which indicate the production process and the related merchant are extremely rare. This is the only one I have found in the EEIC's archival records.[60] Exchin's trading history has recently been explored by Van Dyke, especially the 1780s and 1790s.[61] He shows that Exchin gradually developed himself from a mediocre dealer into a monopolist of the EEIC's porcelain trade in the 1780s, by which he could supply porcelain for twenty ships. [62] His annual gross income reached 90,000 taels.[63] However, Van Dyke's research does not provide any explanation as to why Exchin's trade grew so rapidly.

However, the record mentioned above can tell more about this situation. Exchin's success in the porcelain trade definitely benefited from the dynamic network with the EEIC, as well as his investment in the manufacture of porcelain. Exchin's name was Yisheng (鎰昇),[64] and his shop was named after his name. He started to participate in porcelain trade in 1763 and first appeared in the SOIC record in 1763. The VOC, Danish East India Company, Swedish East India Company records show that he had a continuous trade of porcelain from 1763 until he had a monopoly of porcelain with the EEIC in 1772. [65] His trade with VOC averaged about 1,357 taels per year from

[59] IOR/G/12/60 Letter Book, 28 January, 1778, Letter 73.
[60] There might be similar records in other Companies' Archives. However, studies of using other Companies' records remained silent on this issue.
[61] Van Dyke, *Success and Failure*, pp.135-144.
[62] Ibid, p.136.
[63] Ibid, p.137.
[64] Chen, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843*, p.339. Van Dyke, *Success and Failure*, p.135.
[65] IOR/R/10/9, 1772, Van Dyke, *Success and Failure* p.135, Appendix 7C.

1764 to 1788. His annual transaction with the EEIC amounted to tens of thousands of dollars in value.[66]

His business with the EEIC was curtailed in 1792, when the Company ceased to export Chinaware as ballast, on account of the duties imposed on this article being too high.[67] Presumably, his shop also sold chinaware to other private traders, even after his death in 1796.[68] The trading history of Exchin not only represents a porcelain dealer but also reflects a dynamic network among foreign traders, local dealers and producers.

This report from the EEIC supercargo is of great importance to the production of enamelled porcelain in Canton. This record shows us the communication between the Company and the porcelain dealer, which demonstrates the participation of the EEIC in terms of production. Although we do not know whether Exchin owns the manufacture or not, the close location of the workshop allowed him to resolve the problem. Exchin played a role as an agency in placing an order and then brought the final product to the EEIC.

We do not have any further information relating to Exchin's shop, but a porcelain shop of the late eighteenth century that advertised its business on a hanging board was probably similar to Exchin's. (Figure 6-5). A vertical plaque was hung on the outside of the shop, reading:

福源店承办洋装磁器山水人物各欵主故不悞

[66] IOR/G/12/80, 2 August, 1785; G/12/87, 4 March, 1787; G/12/95, 4 May 1788.
[67] IOR/G/12/110, 14 May 1795. G/12/22, 10 November, 1798.
[68] IOR/G/12/116, 29 December 1796. IOR/G/12/25, January 28, 1799. IOR/G/12/128, 25 April 1800; IOR/G/12/128, 12 May 1800, p.239.

> This shop (Fuyuan means the source of fortunate) accepts orders to make porcelain in various foreign designs either in landscape or figure decoration.

Gold characters were written in red board, which seemed very attractive to visitors. Apart from the big attractive shop sign, porcelain decorators were shown in the shop. This scene was probably seen by many foreign traders at Canton that time. For instance, an American visitor, John R. Latimer described one of the porcelain shops in 1815:

> The second apartment was the pencilling room where there were a great number of men and boys employed, stowed as close and not dissimilar to a school. It is surprising with what diligence and patience a man would with a small pencil lay on the gilding and colours of each piece.[69]

[69] Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain*, p.74.

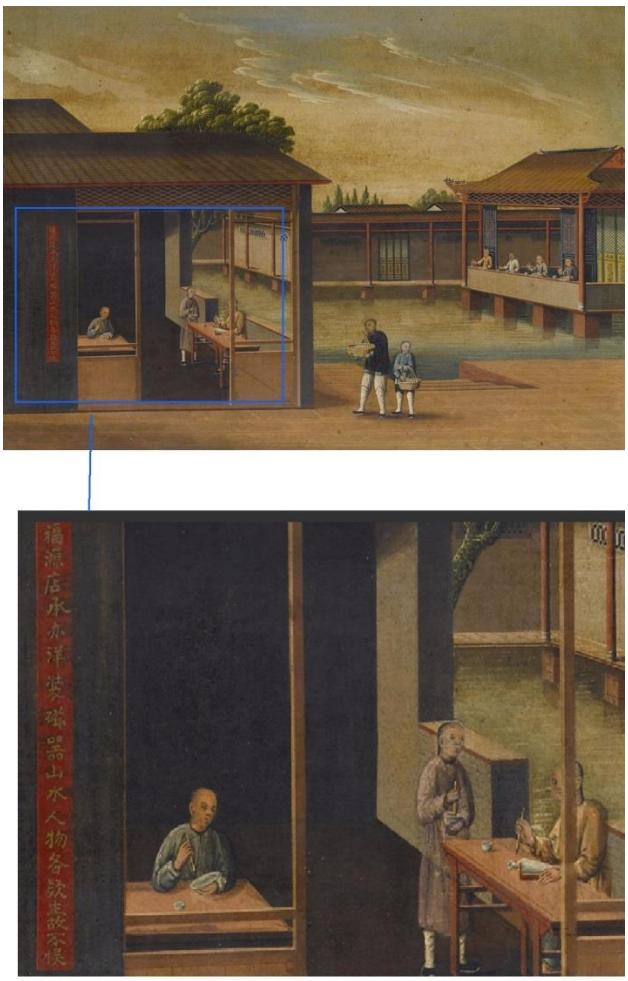

Figure 6-5 A porcelain shop *fuyuan dian* (福源店).
A set of eleven paintings depicting porcelain production, late eighteenth century. 14 x 19in (35.5 x 48.2cm) each painting.
Photo Courtesy of Bonham's. This set of painting was auctioned on 17 March, 2014, New York.

John Henry Gray portrayed a similar scene but even larger scales of production with details on the oven in the late nineteenth century in 1875:

> We entered several houses, or Hongs, in which native artists were busily engaged in painting designs of various kinds, on porcelain vases, punch bowls, dinner, breakfast and dessert services…In this same part of the Honan suburb, are the ovens in which the porcelain vessels to which we have referred, are for six hours, places, in order that, by the action of fire,

> they may retain the designs with which, by the pencils of the artists, they have been beautified and adorned. Each of the ovens, to which were refer, consists of two circular walls. Of the circular walls in question, the inner one is made of clay tiles. And the outer one of bricks. At the base of outer wall, these are several small openings or grates. Between the circular walls, which form the oven, the fuel, which consists of charcoal is placed. The top of the oven is enclosed by flat clay tiles, which are made to rest upon the porcelain vessels, which the oven contains.[70]

Figure 6-6 depicts a similar oven observed by John Henry Gray in 1875 but of an earlier period. This oven was similar to the one in Jingdezhen, as shown in Chapter 2. According to local craftsmen of the early twentieth century, the oven was usually two meters in diameter. This was much larger than the one in Jingdezhen which was only half a meter in diameter. The larger oven of Canton certainly contributed to large production, which could meet the demand from overseas markets.

The growing production locally at Canton led not only to quantitative changes in exported pieces, but also to qualitative changes. Samuel Shaw, in Canton in 1784 as supercargo for *the Empress of China,* found that:

> There are many painters in Canton, but I was informed that not one of them possesses a genius of design…it is a general remark, that the Chinese, though they can imitate most of the fine arts, do not possess any large portion of original genius.[71]

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[70] John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton*, (Hong Kong, 1875), pp.83-84.

[71] Samuel Shaw, *The Journal of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton*, edited with a life of the author by Josiah Quincy (Boston, 1847), pp.198-99, cited in Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain,* p.53, note 32.

Figure 6-6 Painting shows the ovens of firing enamelled porcelain.
A set of eleven paintings depicting porcelain production, late eighteenth century.
14 x 19in (35.5 x 48.2cm) each painting.
Photo Courtesy of Bonham's. This set of painting was auctioned on 17 March, 2014, New York.

Such workshops were first established not far from the porcelain streets. According to Zhao Guohuan (1925-1990, he was designated by local Government in Guangzhou as the master of enamelling porcelain in 1986), the earliest workshops were located in the north of the European Companies factories area.[72] It is not possible to find out how many workshops were established in Canton and we do not know the scale of the production. However, the establishment of the craft guild of *Lingsi tang* suggests the production of enamelled porcelain in Canton reached a certain scale in the 1770s. Based on the oral interviews from other senior enamellers,

[72] Zhao Guohuan, *Guangcai shihua* [The history of enamelling in Canton] (Guangzhou, 1987), p.47. Zhao's evidence was from the oral interviews of the older generations of enamellers.

the production was organised by a craft guild called hall of *lingsitang* (灵思堂). The date of establishing of this guild was in 1778, and it still existed until the early twentieth century.[73] In a painting of depicting the production of porcelain from the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, *Lingsitang* appeared in a scene of enamelling. (Figure 6-7) This painting is from a set of 24 depicting the porcelain industry in China. Paintings such as this were targeted at Europeans eager to find out the secrets of porcelain manufacture in China.


Figure 6-7 Potters painting porcelain, *c.*1770-1790.
Watercolour and ink on paper. Height: 40 cm, Width: 60 cm.
Photo Courtesy of Victorian and Albert Museum, E.50-1910.

[73] After 1911, the guild was taken over by the local government and it became a main enamelled porcelain manufacture until the late 1980s. Guangdong sheng defang zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, *Guangdong shengzhi: Qionggongye zhi* [The crafts industry of Canton] (Guangzhou, 1995), vol.6, p.232.

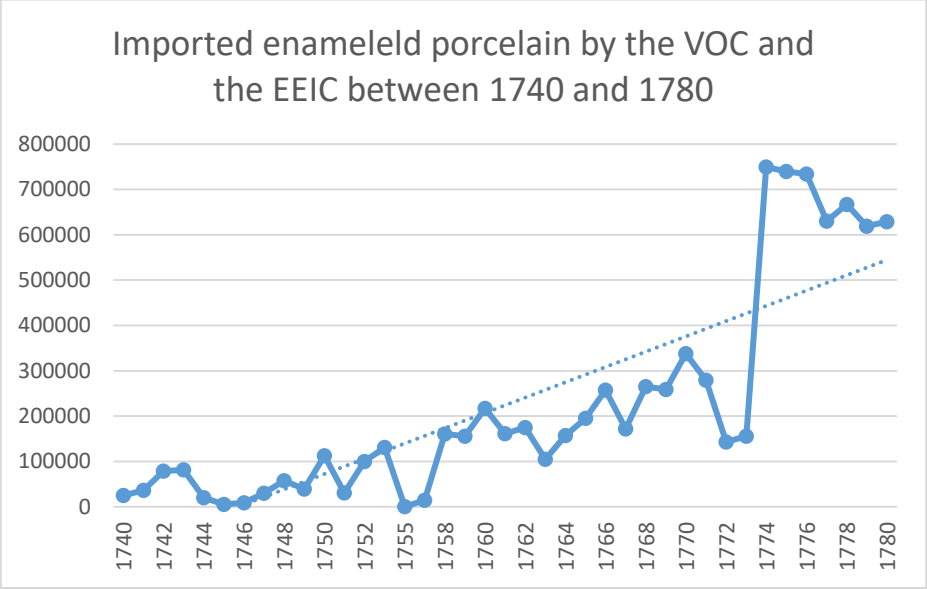


Figure 6-8 Imported enamelled porcelain by the VOC and the EEIC between 1740 and 1780. Source: Appendix B.

The impact of the establishment of a craft guild was profound. As shown in Figure 6-8, the total amount of enamelled porcelain imported by the VOC and the EEIC reached its peak during the late 1770s. This craft guild is important with porcelain merchants in organising an industry in the face of competition and changes in market conditions. With the appearance of porcelain factories in Europe in the mid-eighteenth century, the demand for Chinese export porcelain began to diminish, and by the end of the century the trade was in serious decline. Following the nation's newfound independence in 1784, America officially entered into trade with China. Consistent with European trade, Chinese porcelain dealers managed to trade with their new clients. Thus, in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Canton, the industry achieved great success in producing enamelled porcelain for the American market.[74]

The shift in production and the establishment of a craft guild both resulted from a long-term development and with the active response to the market and changes in

[74] Mudge, *the American Trade*, pp.91-95.

trading policies. The establishment of craft guild of enamelled porcelain production in Canton indicates the maturity of Canton enamelled porcelain industry in the late eighteenth century.

## 6.8. Conclusion

Focusing on a crucial period of the Canton trade, this chapter has shown the important factors that have stimulated the trade and the production of enamelled porcelain. The confinement of Canton as the single port and the Co-Hong has been widely read as reflecting a passive attitude from the Qing Government to trade. However, as this chapter has shown, the actual trade in reality was different from what they had assumed. As non-Hong merchants, porcelain dealers benefited from these changes. I have shown that the regulations on shopkeepers and outside merchants actually did not restrict trade but on the contrary, reaffirmed the permission for them to deal with foreign traders in private account. The confinement of Canton further brought porcelain dealers a more predictable and less risky trading environment. The establishment of Co-Hong helped them to build a closer network with foreign companies. Some of them took advantage and joined the tea trade and transformed themselves from small dealers into Hong merchants. The rest probably took advantage of good timing to set up their own manufacture. Combining all the factors, a new situation emerged which led to the most important development of enamelled porcelain production and trade. Canton became a major enamelled porcelain production site.

# CHAPTER 7. Porcelain Dealers and their Role in Trade

## 7.1. Introduction

In his recent research, Paul A. Van Dyke has shed light on porcelain dealers.[1] His archival research of the American, Dutch, Danish, French and Swedish Companies reveals thirteen prominent porcelain dealers and some other miscellaneous porcelain dealers of the eighteenth century. As I have shown in previous chapters, most porcelain dealers were non-Hong merchants, and thus, only fragmental information survived about them. For EEIC, they were only mentioned in regards to their names and business transactions. It is extremely difficult to trace them individually in great detail. From this point of view, Van Dyke's archival research is of great significance. He assembled enough information to illustrate them individually which enables us to have a more detailed image of porcelain dealers. However, as his focus was on these individual dealers and their trading history, he did not show how trade was influenced by these dealers. In other words, the exact roles that porcelain dealers played in trade is not demonstrated. However, based on his archival studies and my own research, it is now possible to demonstrate the porcelain dealers' roles in this trade.

This chapter is organised into three sections. The first part surveys the porcelain shops of the eighteenth century. The porcelain shop was the main place where most of the transactions were conducted, and created a space and network for sharing knowledge of selling techniques. An examination of the development of porcelain

[1] Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).

shops can show us porcelain dealers' efforts to expand their trade. This is followed by a discussion of porcelain dealers' selling techniques. The final section reveals their network and their colorations. It shows their connection with local production at Jingdezhen, as well as their connection in establishing new workshops at Canton.

## 7.2. Porcelain Shops at Canton

The rise of shops in eighteenth century Europe has been one of the most dynamic fields of historical research. [2] Historians have increasingly emphasised the sophistication of retail practices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Shops are highlighted as an important part of the marketing of goods; advertising is recognised as widespread and often complex in its communication of ideas.[3] Claire Walsh has shed light on various cultural aspects of early-modern retailing.[4] There is also a growing body of research which demonstrates the importance of shopping as a social and pleasurable activity, as well as an important household duty. [5] More specifically, historians have investigated the marketing of the silks and the

[2] For instance, Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna Mui, *Shops and shopkeeping in eighteenth century England* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12(2002), pp.375-394. Claire Walsh, 'Shopping in Early Modern London, c.1660-1800' (Ph.D thesis, European University Institute, Florence, 2001).

[3] Jon. Stobart, B. Blonde, Bruno Blondé (eds.), Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe, (Springer, 2014).

[4] Claire Walsh, 'Shop design and the display of goods in the eighteenth century London', *Journal of Design History*, 8/3(1995), pp.157-176, later reprinted in John Benson and Gareth Shaw (eds.), *The retailing industry* (London, 1999); Claire Walsh, 'The newness of the department store: a view from the eighteenth century', in Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain (eds.), *Cathedral of consumption: the European department store 1850-1939* (Aldershot, 1999); Claire Walsh, 'The advertising and marketing of consumer goods in eighteenth century London', in Clemens Wischermann and Elliott Shore (eds.), *Advertising and the European city: historical perspectives* (Aldershot, 2000).

[5] Jon Stobart, Andrew Hann, Victoria Morgan (eds.) *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c.1680–1830* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

relationship between silk shops and workshops in eighteenth century France.[6] Methods of selling silks are proven to have been experienced innovations.

Interestingly however, such an approach has never been adequately applied to Chinese porcelain trade studies. We know little about the details of how porcelain was actually sold to foreign traders. Little has been written by scholars about their methods of selling or the role of those porcelain dealers played in the trade. However, we do have records and visual representations of porcelain shops. This chapter therefore argues for a different perspective on the development of porcelain shops in Canton during the eighteenth century.

The shops created a space for selling and buying which increased the volume of trade, as well as the exchanges. Porcelain shops were located in the so called 'Foreign Factories' area, about half a mile above the city suburb, in going from Whampoa.[7] (Map 5) In the 1760s, the local government at Canton moved most shopkeepers to a new street in order to have better control, later called 'China Street' by visitors of later times. According to Patrick Conner, this street was probably called 'China Street' because it was a place to buy 'Chinaware' (a word used by traders at the time for Chinese porcelain).[8] Hog Lane and China Street were becoming the main shopping streets in the nineteenth century, as they were consistently described in visitors' notes.[9]

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[6] Lesley Ellis Miller, 'Innovation and Industrial Espionage in Eighteenth-Century France: An Investigation of the Selling of Silks Through Samples' *Journal of Design History,* Vol. 12, No. 3, Eighteenth-Century Markets and Manufactures in England and France (1999), pp.271-292.

[7] Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton: Western Merchants in South China 1700-1900, as Seen in Chinese Export Paintings* (London, 2009), pp.25-61. Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Shopping Streets in the Foreign Quarter at Canton 1760-1842' *Revista de Cultura* 43(2013), pp.92-110.

[8] Conner, *The Hongs of Canton*, p.75.

[9] The best example describing these two streets is from C.Toogood Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China in 1836-1837* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp.288-290.


Map 5 Map of the Pearl River Delta related to the Canton Trade System (1700–1860s). Source: Massachusetts Institute of Technology © 2009 Visualizing Cultures, http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/rise_fall_canton_02/cw_essay01.html, accessed on 1 June 2016.

But what eighteenth-century porcelain shops looked like is an area which has received very little attention to date. Apart from a few scholars who have noticed their existences in trade, there is no systematic investigation and discussion of porcelain shops. No researchers have asked questions about what kind of goods these shops dealt with, what their specialties of the trade were, what the shops looked like and their relations to the establishment of enamelled porcelain workshops. These questions are certainly important because these shops were often invisible in the official records and were neglected by current narratives.[10] Because of such

[10] Paul A. Van Dyke is the most prominent researcher to conduct research on shops at Canton, Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Shopping Streets in the Foreign Quarter' *Revista de Cultura,* 43(2013), pp.92-110. This article was reprinted in Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok (eds.), *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822 Reading history in Art* (Hong Kong, 2015), pp.83-99.

invisibility, their network of owners—porcelain shopkeepers—were not visible to us either. As a result, the roles played by these shopkeepers in the porcelain trade were neglected. Without a detailed analysis of these shops and their trading activities, a series of issues such as how they sold porcelain and the interaction between local shopkeepers, local manufactures and their foreign buyers cannot be fully understood.

The investigation of porcelain shops is, however, hindered by limited and fragmented textual evidence. The few textual records of shops at Canton are either fragmental, or attributed to a later period.[11] Porcelain shops were mentioned in Dutch records as 'boutiques'. The names of the VOC supplier were listed in the daybooks and the 'unloading books';[12] according to C.A. Jörg, in the trade report of VOC in 1764 a good fifty shops were mentioned, which mainly sold porcelain of higher quality which the VOC needed in larger amounts at that time. My examination of the EEIC records revealed one hundred and thirty porcelain dealers between the late 1720s and early 1760s.[13] Most of them showed up randomly, and sometimes their names just appeared once. It is impossible to trace the development of shops in the eighteenth-century Canton if we only rely on such textual records.

Recently, the representations of Canton port recently became another source by which the trade between China and Western traders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may be traced. A large scholarship has been generated in the last decade. The paintings of 'views of Canton' were categorised as a type of export art and were

[11] Of the early nineteenth century, local shops were mentioned by American traders. See, Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835* (Newark, 1981).
[12] Jörg has noticed the porcelain suppliers for the VOC were both from Hong merchants and porcelain shops. C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade* (The Hague, 1982), p.113.
[13] Appendix A. Because the records are in manuscript form, some of spellings of Chinese dealers' names were slightly different from year to year.

used by historians to explore the urban development of Canton.[14] Through my examination of surviving sources on Chinese export porcelain trade, there has emerged a group of paintings on the porcelain trade. The name of the porcelain shops appears on many paintings. By examining the paintings of Canton port city, scholars placed more emphasis on the scale of general trade, and often neglected those visual sources that demonstrate the trade of certain type of goods, such as paintings and watercolours on porcelain production and trade.

In order to analyse the porcelain trade, this research will look at paintings of the porcelain trade, paying particular attention to these shops. Appendix C presents eight sets of painting which contains porcelain shops at Canton, a sequence which includes most of those I have been able to find, and is the result of extensive research. There are also sets of paintings containing porcelain shops, but these were not located in Canton, but most probably in Jingdezhen, based on the subjects of paintings being on porcelain production and sale in Jingdezhen. Since this chapter has a particular focus on Canton's trade development, I only show examples of Canton porcelain shops. In many cases, they languish forgotten in reserve collections, often un-catalogued, and rarely if ever displayed to the public. I have contacted and consulted with museum and library collections, as well as auction houses and galleries. As far I have researched, at least 30 sets of those paintings have survived in albums or wallpapers

[14] A good source of export painting on port city can be found in Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of The China Trade: Paintings, Furnishings and Exotic curiosities* (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), pp.410-420. See also, Andrew Lo, Song Jiayu, Wang Tzi-Cheng and Frances Wood, (eds.), *Chinese Export Paintings of the Qing Period in The British Library* (Chinese and English bilingual edition), 8 volumes, (Guangzhou: Guandong renmin chubanshe, 2011).

containing porcelain shops.[15] Here I only select paintings that have been studied or exhibited. It should be mentioned that porcelain shops or shops were not only depicted on paintings but also on porcelain objects, for example, Figure 7-2 shows a cup that decorated with a scene of foreigners visiting a local shop at Canton.

[15] On the 7th and 8th April 2016, I attended conference *Chinese wallpaper: trade, technique and taste* organised by the National Trust and the Victoria and Albert Museum, with Coutts & Co and the Royal College of Art. Several wallpapers were shown painted on the subject of porcelain production. Because most of the wallpapers are survived in the castles or country houses, it is suggested there are probably more wallpapers that have not been found. For a brief introduction on the subject matter of Chinese export wallpaper, see, Emile de Bruijn, Andrew Bush and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses* (London, 2014).

Figure 7-1 A porcelain shop *dacheng.* Gouache on paper. 41 x 31 cm, *c.*1730s
Source: Digital collection of the Library of Lund University
http://bilder.ub.lu.se/application/index.cfm?search=fulltext&argument=lund&collection=7, accessed on 1 October 2015.

Figure 7-2 A small enamelled porcelain cup, decorating two foreigners visit a shop. D. 8 cm. Collection of Keramiekmuseum Princessehof. Photo taken by the author, 22, October, 2015.

This section examines those porcelain shops depicted on albums of the period between 1730s and 1790s, with a few examples from the early nineteenth century, where the shop type remained unchanged from the late eighteenth century. Because of their similarities, it concentrates on the shops themselves including the porcelain on display and the space to see how porcelain shops changed, along with trade.

Through the systematic investigation of these paintings, it may be seen that porcelain shops enjoyed a sophisticated development, along with trade in 1730 and 1790. Firstly, a significant difference in the design of shop's name existed between earlier periods and the later ones. This comparison shows that porcelain shops of the later period have a proliferation of texts in marketplace signage. (Figure 7-3)

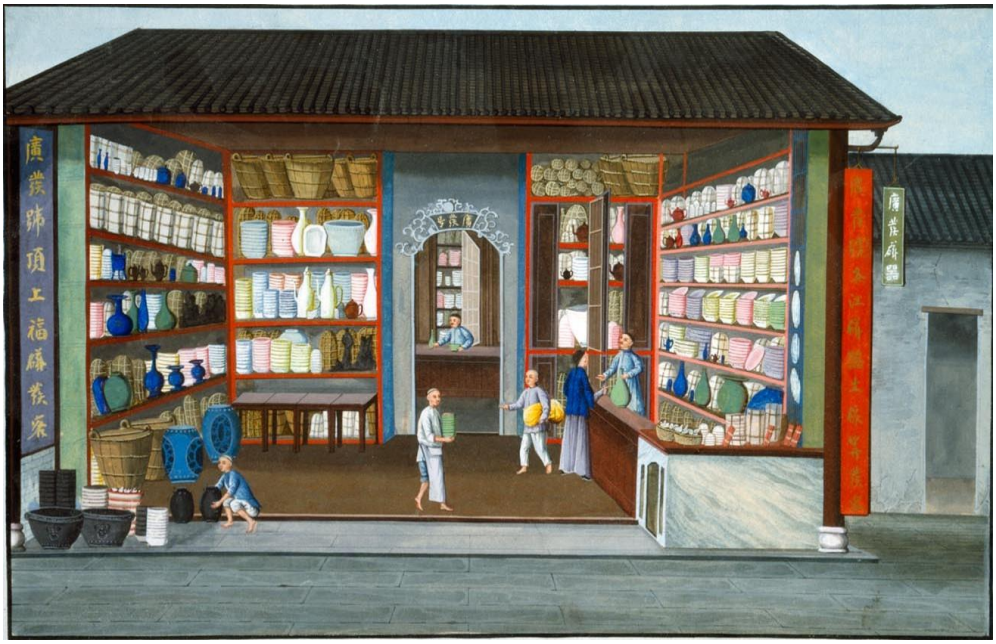

Figure 7-3 A porcelain shop *Guangfa*, Gouache on paper.
Height: 39.5 cm, Width: 51 cm, *c.* 1820, Guangzhou.
Photo Courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum, E82555.12.

It should be noted that a foreign customer was usually accompanied by a translator when they intended to purchase a commodity at Canton. In the late

eighteenth century, at the entrance door of each shop, there were placed two or three long sign boards, and each of these was painted upon either in gold, or vermilion, or other bright colours, large characters were set forth, giving not only the name by which the shop, or store is distinguished, but also, the nature of the commodities which it contained. The names of the porcelain shops and the use of the columns explaining their specialities were a direct, deliberate advertisement. Such an improvement can also be seen in the shop design. The earlier shops consisted of a simple wooden frame; they could not support much decoration, and were simply frames for the display of goods. The later ones, on the other hand, were decorated intensively.

Secondly, the availability of space sharply increased throughout the eighteenth century. We do not know the exact size of the shop; however, by judging from their looks, it is easy to trace efforts to expand and restructure interiors, upgrade and refashion the style of exteriors, and increase the size of doors. More particularly, the number of evolved local labours increased, and the shopkeeper of a later period usually employed assistants or craftsmen. From this comparison, we may see how Chinese shopkeeper adapted their business to increasing demand from foreign traders. For example, porcelain shops of the 1730s only show one shopkeeper, but in the 1750s, the number of persons increased to two (Figure 7-4). Later we see that more labourers were involved. (Figure 7-3)

Figure 7-4 A porcelain shop waiting for foreign customers.
Watercolours, 19x20cm, *c.*1750s.
Photo Courtesy of Hong Kong Maritime Museum, HKMM2012.0101.0033

Thirdly, the variety of porcelain types and decoration patterns declined. We found from earlier depictions that the displayed porcelain was of various designs, especially in decoration. We see plates decorated in the earlier period (Figure 7-5), but we only see pieces bearing no decoration to the later period. (Figure 7-6) It echoed the phenomenon that during the late eighteenth century, when Canton has its own manufacture of enamelled porcelain production, shopkeepers put pieces with no decoration in stock and waited for further instruction from their foreign customers.

They bought porcelain pieces from Jingdezhen (five hundred miles away from Canton, where all the porcelain was made at the time), and sold their products with their brands and informed their customers by advertising their manufacture. In doing so, foreign buyers could order certain patterns to be decorated immediately and the

shopkeepers could reduce the risk that some porcelain decorations were not in the latest fashion, and could be left in stock. Such sales methods aimed to clinch a sale quickly and to reduce the amount of time they spent in contact with manufacture at a distance, in Jingdezhen.

Figure 7-5 A Canton porcelain shop.
Watercolour on silk, Dimension: unknown, *c.*1750s.
Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Fonds du service reproduction, RESERVE PET FOL-OE-104, Paris.
This album has been realised online from 29/06/2014.
http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40358242f

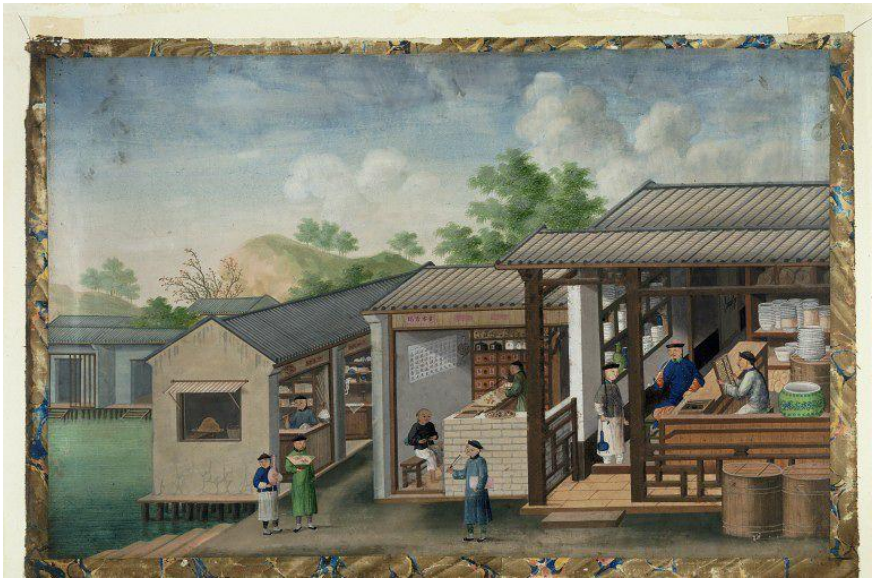

Figure 7-6 A porcelain shop. Watercolour, 40x60cm, *c.*1770-1790.
Photo Courtesy Victoria and Albert Museum, E59-1910.

The investigation of contemporary representations of porcelain shops at Canton sheds light on the porcelain trade. Such a perspective serves to emphasise the diversity and vitality of porcelain shops engaged in the porcelain trade. With a better understanding of shops, a better understanding of porcelain dealers' roles may also be reached.

## 7.3. Selling Techniques

The VOC has a long history of sending models and drawings to Canton in order to ensure that the pieces of imported porcelain meet their requirements, by size, shapes as well as decoration.[16] The notable design was made by Cornelis Pronk. Between

[16] Jörg has shown this example extensively in *the Dutch China trade*, pp.94-112. Unlike the VOC, the EEIC only started to use models in the late 1770s. See, Letter 17, IOR/G/12/60 'Since the Dispatch of the advices by the Ships for the coast and China, the Court Directors have received some models, to serve in forming several different sorts of which the investment of China ware is composed, attended with some instructions for the improvement of that article'.

1734 and 1740, the VOC commissioned Pronk to produce designs for Chinese porcelain. Pronk made four different designs. The deal ended in 1740 because the production and shipping from China proved too costly. The well documented archival resources provided a perfect example for scholars to explore the commission pattern of the East India Companies when it came to a special order.[17] This example shows how a company secured its purchases. On the other hand, from the point of view of the seller, a similar technique was also applied by Canton porcelain dealers.

Lesley Ellis Miller proved that the silk samples in the eighteenth century enabled silk merchants to retain their domestic and international market.[18] Dagmar Schäfer has argued that through pattern books of design, the Manchu Qing Empire successfully managed to control labour, as well as the documentation of production, and its dissemination.[19] In the case of porcelain production, the practice of presenting samples to customers before putting them into production was employed by the imperial porcelain production at the Qing court at the same time.[20] I have argued in my MA dissertation that presenting samples before production not only enabled manufactures to achieve requirements from their sponsors, but also helped the imperial household to impose their demand on production, and make sure the design and shape were exactly as they required.[21]

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[17] The most representative works are from C. J. A. Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain, Porcelain after Designs* (Groninger Museum, 1980). See also, David S. Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West. Chinese Porcelain and other Decorative Arts for Export illustrated from the Mottahedeh Collection* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), p.294.

[18] Lesley Ellis Miller, 'Material Marketing: How Lyonnais Silk Manufacture Sold Silk 1660-1789' in Jon Stobart, Bruno Blondé (eds.), *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp.85-99.

[19] Dagmar Schäfer, 'Patterns of Design in Qing- China and Britain during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in Maxine Berg (ed.), *Goods from the East, 1600-1800: Trading Eurasia* (Hampshire,2015), pp.107-118.

[20] Hui Tang, 'Rethinking the Imperial Production of Porcelain of Yongzheng Reign (1723-1735)' (Unpublished MA dissertation, 2011, SOAS)

[21] Ibid.

In the porcelain trade at Canton, porcelain dealers used samples to reduce their risk. The risk that porcelain dealers have to face was rejection from supercargoes. In the period before the late 1740s, competition between European companies depended on whether they could purchase enough quantities to floor their ships. However, things changed when quality began to matter. Supercargoes might spend days looking up musters or samples from porcelain shops before they started to buy or make any order. Except for guaranteeing quantity, the quality of porcelain became the main factor that the supercargoes concerned. So the porcelain dealers ran a risk that pieces which could not meet their requirement might be rejected and left over in stock. From 1760 onwards, presenting porcelain samples became more important, as new manufactures have been set up locally to produce pieces for export. The porcelain dealers would make sure the presented patterns were accepted before putting them into production. In this sense, presenting samples to clients was a way of reducing the risk of being rejected.

Moreover, samples were used as a means of advertising. There are a group of plates decorated in several patterns within one plate have survived, which are named 'sample plates'.[22] These sample plates were decorated with multiple designs around the rim and armorial devices and monograms in the centre. Each pattern was marked by a number to illustrate a merchant's chosen style from the range available. Except for monograms, each plate also bore numbered patterns. For example, Figure 7-7 shows a sample plate of Victoria and Albert Collection, surrounding the border of patterns, numbered 21, 22, 23, and 24. Of this collection, there is another piece that

[22] There are two pieces in Victoria and Albert museum, museum numbers are: C.120-1923 and C.121-1923.Two in Rijksmuseum, museum numbers are: AK-NM-13505 and AK-NM-13506.

bears patterns numbered 17, 18, 19 and 20. The numbered patterns indicate that the plates belonged to one series, showing the design.


Figure 7-7 Pattern plate, one of a series, porcelain painted in enamel colours and gilded. 'Syngchong FM' mark, made in China (Jingdezhen), painted in Guangzhou, Qing dynasty, *c.* 1790.
Photo Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, C.121-1923.

The plate of Figure 7-7 is also marked with the name Syngchong, a main porcelain dealer of the period. Records from the VOC show that Syngchong traded small amounts of porcelain in 1765 and remained in the porcelain trade with the DAC and VOC.[23] This merchant only started to trade with the EEIC in the 1780s when he became one of the main suppliers.[24] Sample plates bearing the merchant's shop mark must have played a role in promoting his reputation. He was regarded by the American trader Hezekiah B.Pierrepont in 1796 as selling 'the most respectable China ware on porcelain trade,'[25] A decade later, Syngchong was regarded by the American as 'the

[23] Van Dyke, *Success and Failure*, p.154.
[24] Jörg, *the Dutch China trade*, p.119.
[25] Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese export porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835* (Newark, 1981), p.56.

head of China ware merchants, sometimes much dearer, often a little cheaper, with generally better China ware and always the best packed of any man in Canton.'[26]

In all, by presenting and displaying to their customers, Chinese porcelain dealers were able to play a more active role in supplying goods. They were no longer passively waiting for customers to select their porcelain in stock; instead, by displaying samples, Chinese porcelain dealers were able to reduce their cost and risk, which helped them retain a connection with international markets and domestic supply.

It is also evident from the daily transaction of the porcelain trade that took place at the shop that porcelain dealers learned to deal in items of the most fashionable designs. Most of the literature concerning the imported porcelain has been amazed by the overall quantities.[27] However, different types of porcelain were sold at different prices by porcelain dealers. In order to sell porcelain at a higher price, Chinese dealers were impelled to specialise in the knowledge of decoration patterns, and changing decoration patterns too. In doing so, they could be aware of the most fashionable designs, and would make their sales more profitable.

The most profitable items were enamelled porcelain decorated with coats of arms. From the late 1720s onwards, private orders of armorial services were exclusively decorated with enamel colours. Because armorial porcelain pieces were decorated in the coats of arms of notable family, most of them could be dated precisely. From this point of view, the number in Table 5 provides a reliable source to analyse private enamelled porcelain trade in the eighteenth century. However, porcelain of this kind still remains a valid topic of research to art historians. The focus of studies on these

[26] Phillip Library, Peabody Essex Museum: Benjamin Shreve Papers MH-20, box 10, folder 4, ship *Minerva* Account Book 1809, pp.42, 50, 53, cited from van Dyke, *Success and Failure*, p.156.
[27] For instance, K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company: 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 1978), pp.406-410.

objects remains to date and their owners' genealogical connections have been found.[28] The private trade of the EEIC has been long discussed, and has proved to be an important factor to the economy in the eighteenth-century Britain.[29] Yet the private trade of enamelled armorial services has not been recognised by economic historians.

| Company | 1720s | 1730s | 1740s | 1750s | 1760s | 1770s | 1780s | 1790s | 1800s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EEIC | 150 | 236 | 375 | 578 | 441 | 318 | 411 | 495 | 146 |
| Spain | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 15 | 13 | 5 | 10 | 6 |
| Dutch | 0 | 85 | 92 | 65 | 35 | 29 | 31 | 0 | 16 |
| Total | 152 | 323 | 469 | 648 | 491 | 360 | 447 | 505 | 168 |

Table 5 The account of special order of enamelled porcelain. (Set of services).
Source: Jochem Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), p.14.
Rocío Díaz, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for Spain* (London and Lisbon: Jorge Welsh Books, 2010)
David S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain,* Vol.2 (Heirloom & Howard Limited, 2003)

Table 5 shows the number of enamelled armorial porcelains imported by the Dutch, Spanish, and the EEIC of the eighteenth century. The number continued to increase and reached its peak during the 1750s and 1760s. It has to be noted that all these services were ordered to be decorated in enamel colours with special arms. Armorial wares appeared to cost at least five times as much as ordinary porcelain,[30]

[28] For example, David Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader* (London,1994); David Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 2 volumes (London, 1974 and 1994); Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain and Its Influence on European Wares* (London and New York: Granada,1979); Jochem Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007).
[29] Earl H. Pritchart, 'Private Trade between England and China in the Eighteenth Century (1680-1833)', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Aug., 1957), pp.108-137.
[30] Anthony Du Boulay, *Christie's Pictorial History of Chinese Ceramics* (Oxford: Phaidon / Christie's,1984), pp.256-257.

which definitely became attractive to Chinese porcelain dealers. Such orders, however, required a more specialised knowledge of designs. Otherwise, misunderstandings could lead to errors in the service. For instance, a service made around 1740 was painted in with 'Our coats of arms', clearly an instruction that Chinese porcelain dealers failed to understand.[31] When the porcelain trade became more stable and predictable from late 1750s, as Chapter 5 and 6 argued, it was then that porcelain shops would establish their own workshops that could supply enamelled armorial porcelain to meet increasing demand.

Setting up the manufacture of enamelled porcelain certainly requires knowledge of techniques and investment in craftsmen and raw materials. Such an establishment however requires a more efficient and expansive producing system than small shopkeepers could offer. As the previous chapter shows, various changes took place in Canton in the 1750s resulting in a new situation for porcelain dealers, by which a more sophisticated network was formed. This network thus played a role in establishing a new manufacture at Canton. The next section will show the network in detail.

## 7.4. The Network of Porcelain Dealers

A network is referred to by scholars as 'connected' individuals or groups.[32] In the last two decades, historical research on the contribution of networks to particular

[31] David Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader* (London, 1994), p.26. This service also has been discussed by others. Godden, *Oriental export market porcelain*, p.15. Colin Sheaf, *Richard S. Kilburn*, *The Hatcher Cargo*: *The Complete Record* (London, 1988), p.98.

[32] D. Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early Modern Madeira Trade', *Business History Review*, 79/3 (2005), p.468.

commercial practices in the early modern period has emerged.[33] The analysis of the organisations and institutions of a merchant 'network' has proved to be useful to explain the trade and commercial growth in the early modern period.[34] This literature shows that networks of merchants have played significant roles in economic and commercial growth throughout history. Networks were also used to approach the exchanges of knowledge and ideas, to explore how goods were traded, and trust was negotiated.[35] Recently, research by Timothy Davies applied this approach to British private trade, arguing the importance of regionally situated commercial associations for day-to-day functioning of private trade.[36]

In the case of the EEIC, Emily Erikson uses social network analysis to generate novel insights regarding the decisions of employees and the performance of the EEIC. Erikson views the EIC's organizational structure as combining hierarchy with horizontal networks, which are defined as decentralized patterns of interaction and communication.[37] By circulating information, the social network also increased the number of the ports in trade with the EEIC.[38] Erikson argues such social network

[33] For a good literature review on 'network', see Bernard C. Beaudreau, *Interregional and International Trade: A Network Approach* (Lulu.Com: 2008), pp.42-44.
[34] Tijl Vanneste, *Global Trade and Commercial Networks: Eighteenth-Century Diamond Merchants* (London and New York: Pickering and Chatto, 2011); Xabier Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and Their Overseas Networks* (London, 2010); Thomas E. Goodman, 'The Sosolot: An Eighteenth Century East Indonesian Trade Network' (Ph.D Thesis, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2006); David Richardson, Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, (eds.), *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590-1867* (Brill, 2014)
[35] Natasha Glaisyer, 'Networking: trade and exchange in the eighteenth-century British empire', *The Historical Journal,* 47 (2004), pp.451-476.
[36] Timothy Davies, 'British Private Trade Networks in the Arabian Seas,c. 1680 – c. 1760', (Ph.D thesis, University of Warwick, 2012); 'Trading Letters in the Arabian Seas: The Correspondence Networks of British Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Western India, *Genre*, 48/2 (2015), pp.215-236.
[37] Emily Erikson, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600-1757*(Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), p.26.
[38] Ibid., p.99.

expanded the range of possibilities to any individuals in the trade.[39] What Erikson's work matters to my research is that the visualization of network showing the density of interconnectedness between ports and various dates. Such visualization is note a map of the physical network but rather links to the most significance nodes in term of connections.[40] The network I refer to in this chapter, was a similar form of network that linked EEIC, Hong merchants and porcelain dealers at Canton, such network also played important roles in porcelain trade. Yet, the network of Chinese porcelain dealers is not fully investigated in current studies.

Ng Chin-keong, in his remarkable monograph on the Amoy trade network, is by far the closest to adopt a networked approach to Chinese merchant activities and commercial connections.[41] More recent research conducted by John Wong examined one particular Canton merchant Houqua and his trade networks. Through Houqua's trade, John Wong revealed the dynamics of Houqua's regional and global networks in the nineteenth century.[42]

In this chapter, I apply the network approach to examine Chinese porcelain dealers and how their networks have shaped trade. Sources on dealers of porcelain trade are few, and records of Chinese language only contain information on Hong merchants because they have been engaged closely with the local government. Except for local gazetteers which contain fragmental information on the trade, there is no detailed source on porcelain dealers. However, regulations on shopkeepers in 1755

[39] Ibid., p.105.
[40] Ibid., pp.118-119.
[41] Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society: The Amoy Network on the China Coast, 1683-1735* (Singapore: NUS Press, first edition 1983, second edn., 2015).
[42] John Wong, *Global Trade in the Nineteenth Century: The House of Houqua and the Canton System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). This monograph was originally his Ph.D thesis, 'Global Positioning: Houqua and His China Trade Partners in the Nineteenth Century', (Ph.D thesis, Harvard University, 2012).

provide us with more information, which make it possible to explore the internal network of Chinese porcelain dealers.

In 1755, the local government demanded that all shopkeepers register with a Hong merchant in order to participate in trade. The registration required the written commitment from all members of each five-person group that each would be jointly liable for any unpaid foreign debts of other members of the five persons registered group.[43] This registration was authorised by the governor of Canton and was brought into action by the fourth level of trade administration in Canton. It was originally issued by the local government in Chinese, but no Chinese textual records have survived in regards to this; the EEIC's records show an English version of this statement.[44]

This statement provides us with important clues that porcelain dealers had to register with Hong merchants, and they were grouped in fives and were responsible for each other. Apart from this textual record, the most recent work by Paul A. Van Dyke's archival research provides this study with valuable information. His has found seventeen contracts between Canton dealers and European Companies, nine of which were linked with the porcelain business.[45] I have found transactions between Chinese

[43] Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company, Trading to China 1635-1834* (Five volumes, Clarendon, 1929), vol.V, p.29, p.39; Weng Eang Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684-1798* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), p.94 and p. 205; IOR/R/10/3, p.358.

[44] IOR/R/10/4, p.27.

[45] Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016). Plate 07.03; 07.07;07.08;07.11;08.01;08.02;08.03;08.04;08.05 and p.129. I thank professor Paul A. Van Dyke for his generosity of sharing information on this issue. Through our email conversations, he told me that most of the contracts he came across were with Hong merchants, and the contracts made with porcelain dealers are rare. (Email conversations with Professor Paul A. Van Dyke, 11 June 2016).

porcelain dealers and the EEIC, but there is no contract written in Chinese language, as Paul A. Van Dyke found in other sources.[46] (Figure 7-8)

Van Dyke has shown that these contracts demonstrate a general trade in Canton with a focus on Hong merchants. In contrast to his studies, I have sought networks between Chinese dealers and foreign traders. This sees porcelain dealers as a network that shares common interests within a commercial context. In doing so, an internal mechanism may be revealed, and the role of this network in the trade can be demonstrated.

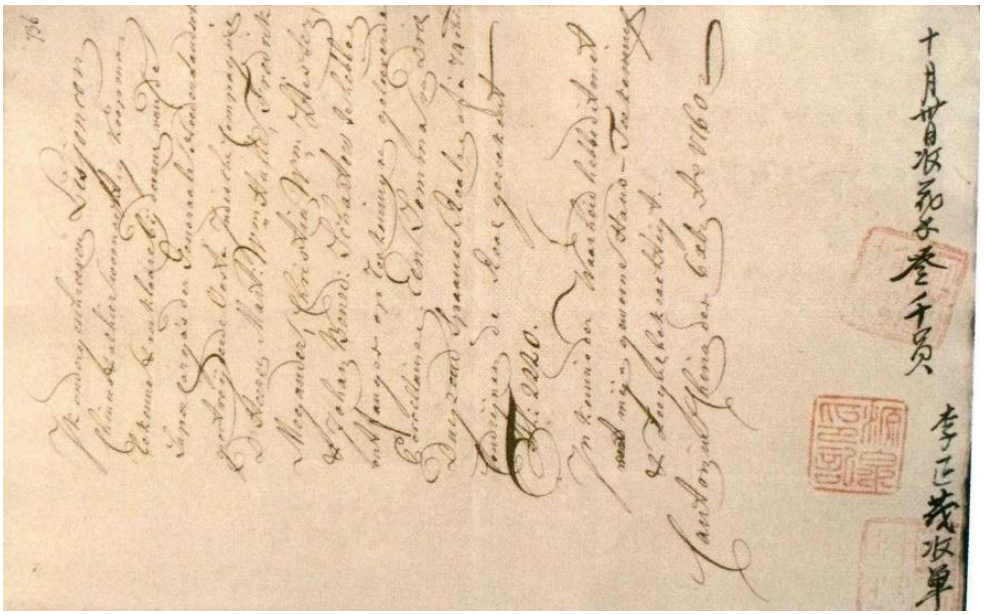

Figure 7-8 Receipt dated 6 December 1760, from Lisjoncon.
This transaction was made through Yuanquan Hang.The Hague, VOC 4387, p.736.
Source: Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016). Plate 07.03.

[46] The records of Swedish East India Company and the Danish East India Company have some contracts with dealers' Chinese names and their stamps. However, based on the volumes I have used of the EEIC records, I have found none. Paul A. Van Dyke has suggested that there might be other volumes of the EEIC containing records in Chinese language. (Email conversations with Paul A. Van Dyke, 11 June 2016).

The examination of surviving contracts found by Van Dyke reveals that there were six Hongs operating porcelain trade between 1760s and 1790s. From the surviving contracts, three groups of porcelain dealers can be observed. Figure 7-9 shows that each group is managed by a merchant who is entitled to deal with foreigners directly and owns a Hong.

Groups of this kind have certainly played a role in forming the porcelain trade at Canton, which I refer to as a network. It should be noted that this network was not political in its structure, but rather economical. The network was not only bounded by the interests of the same branch of business, but also bounded by porcelain dealers' financial responsibilities. These big dealers stood as security for small dealers' business and were responsible for paying the duties in case the latter man failed to do so. In return, small dealers have to pay part of the commission on their sales to big dealers to provide such security. EEIC records of 'Canton factories' reveal little information about how the internal transaction took place between small porcelain dealers and the responsible person. But records from other companies proved such connection. For example, Chowqua received part of a commission on Lisjoncon's sales for providing this security.[47]

[47] Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton: Success and Failure*, p.145.

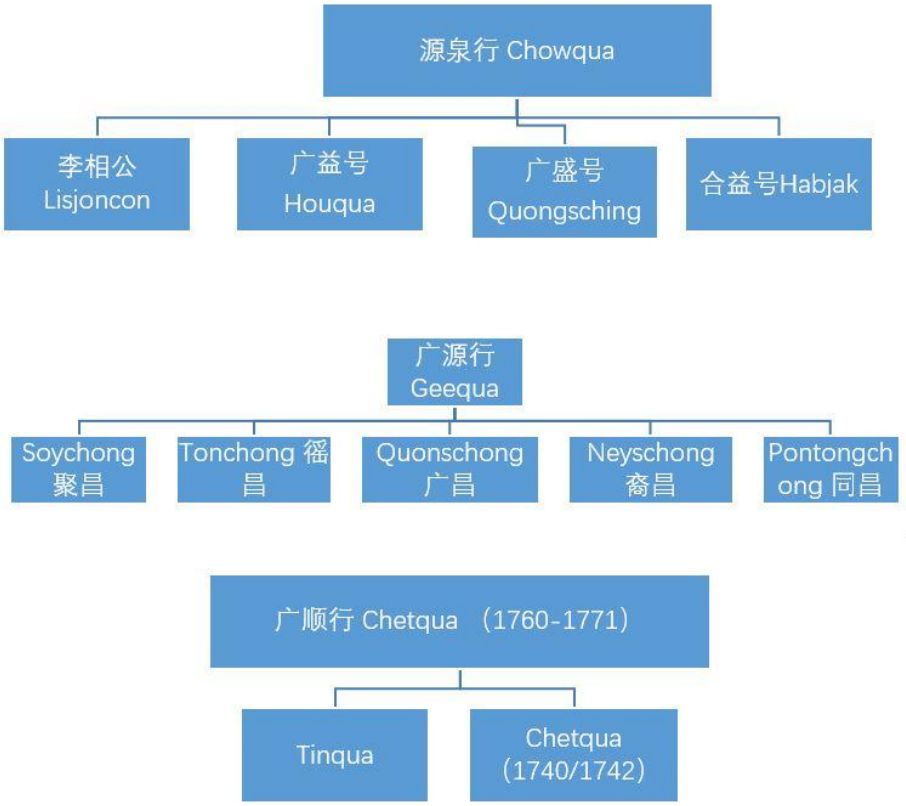


Figure 7-9 Three identified porcelain dealers' network from Dutch VOC records, 1760s-1790s.

Source: Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016). Plate 07.03; 07.07;07.08;07.11;08.01;08.02;08.03;08.04;08.05 and p.129.

This network for sharing similar economic interests brought prosperity to the porcelain trade. This in part explains the dramatic increase of the porcelain after the late 1750s. Within this network, small porcelain dealers now have the right to deal with foreign trades; this is now official and legal, although they practiced in this way in the previous period. Moreover, within this network, the Hong merchant provided facilities to help transport, pack and store, which small dealers could use. When the Whampoa anchorage was crowded with European traders, the demand for porcelain required a more sophisticated supply chain. The increasing trade would need a bigger

space to pack. It is evident from visual sources that there was a special warehouse designed for porcelain trade at the end of the eighteenth century. A painting entitled 'Porcelain Arriving at Canton Warehouse' shows that a boat of porcelain was about to be unloaded to the warehouse. (Figure 7-10)

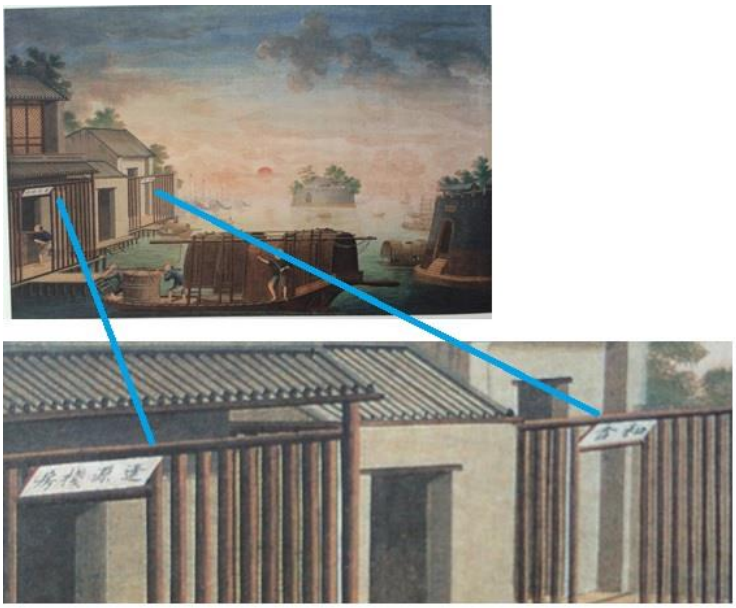

Figure 7-10 A warehouse on the shore of the Pearl River.
The plaque of the warehouse reads *Fengyuan Zhanfang,* Fengyuan warehouse. Fengyuan belonged to the Hong merchant 蔡世文 (Munqua) and was used in period between 1760s and 1780.

However, problems arose towards the end of the eighteenth century. When a Hong merchant experienced bankruptcy, this debt had to be paid by the porcelain dealers who registered with this Hong merchant. For example, in 1779, a Hong merchant Coqua went bankrupt and his debts were actually collected from the keepers of porcelain shops. According to the Dutch source, twenty porcelain dealers had to raise money for him. As an exchange, these dealers were allowed to divide his stocks

of porcelain among themselves.[48] From this point of view, the network was no longer beneficial to small porcelain dealers. The connections between the networks are not static. These porcelain dealers need to devise networks to reconfigure business flows to circumnavigate the hurdles they face. This explains that when the Co-Hong was dismissed in 1771, there were small dealers that separated themselves away from the network. For instance, Soychong used to trade porcelain via Guanyuan Hong, but started to show as an independent dealer in the late 1770s and became one of the main suppliers at Canton in the 1780s.

Such corporations also tightened up the connection between Canton porcelain dealers and manufactures. From the late 1750s when the trade became more stable and predictable, Canton porcelain dealers would need to travel to Jingdezhen annually to place orders with the local manufacture. Even after they had managed to establish their own manufacture, they would need porcelain pieces bearing no decoration. Jingdezhen was a site of production, but it was also a site of distribution. Porcelain pieces were sold inside the town, and prospective buyers would come to Jingdezhen. There were brokers who acted as middlemen, and no trade could be carried on without such licensed brokers.[49] In order to obtain porcelain in good quantity and quality, merchants from other parts of China set up an agency in Jingdezhen, called in Chinese *huiguan* 会馆.

[48] Quoted from Jörg, *the Dutch China trade* (The Hague, 1982), p.118. Note 92. V.O.C.4419, Journal, 12, March and 5 May 1779. Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure*,p.129.

[49] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen Taolu* [Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics] (Jinan, 2004), p.12. This monograph first published in 1815, it was later translated by Julien Stanislas in 1856, *Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine chinoise* (Paris, 1856). An English version was translated by Geoffrey Robley Sayer, *The Potteries of China* (London, 1951).

*Huiguan* were housed local-origin associations. They were usually set up by a community often specialising in certain goods and services.[50] From the point of view of trade, these *Huiguan* created an institutional environment in which buying and selling was made into predictable and routine activities. Day to day normality and predictability was socially manufactured through the operation of trading networks. The *huiguan* provided a meeting ground, lodging, financial assistance, and storage facilities. For merchants, the *Huiguan* also provided a mechanism for regulating trade. This also helped maintain such monopolies by preventing competition from within the trade and by negotiating on behalf of the group with other merchants.[51]

Like other merchant groups, Canton porcelain merchants set up their *huiguan* in Jingdezhen in the mid-eighteenth century.[52] The name of the *huiguan* was Guangzhao 广肇, indicating this *huiguan* was in charge of merchants from Guangzhou and Zhaoqing. Zhaoqing is located 110 km northwest of Guangzhou, in the west Pearl River Delta. (Map 6) It lies on the northern shores of the Xi River, which flows from west to east. Zhaoqing was an important administrative centre when the Jesuits arrived in China in the sixteenth century.[53] It was also famous for the production of copper ware in the Qing dynasty.[54]

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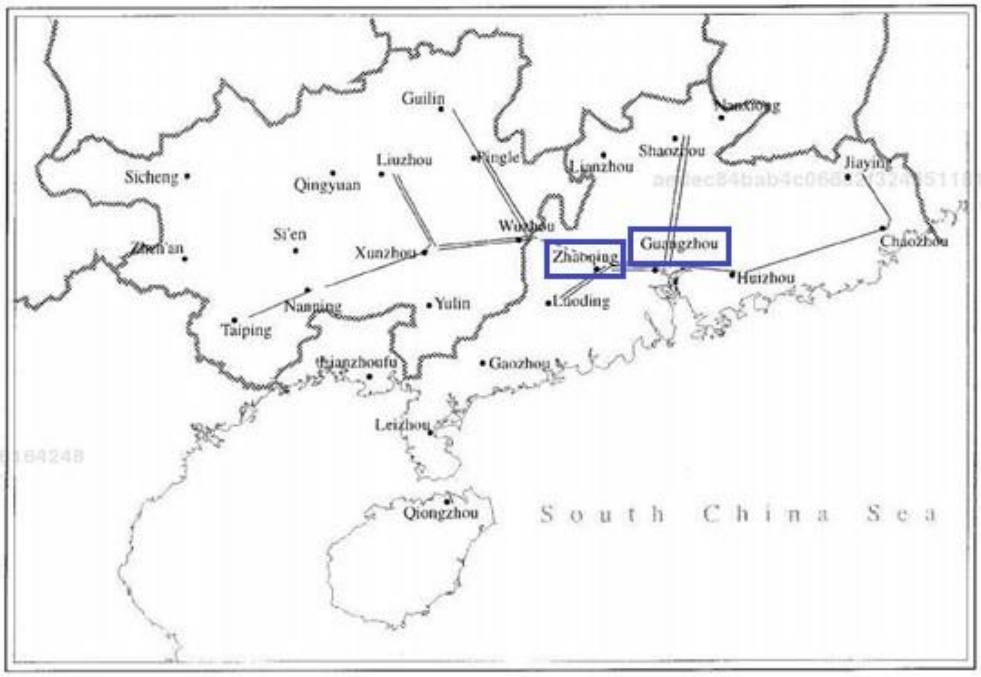
[50] For a general history of *Huiguan*, see He Bingdi, *History of Huiguan (*Taipei, 1966). For a general analysis of Qing period guilds, see Christine Moll-Murata, 'Chinese Guilds from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries: An Overview', *International Review of Social History*, 53 (12:2008), pp.213-247; William T. Rowe, 'Ming-Qing guilds', *Ming Qing yanjiu* [Journal of Ming Qing studies] (Rome 1992), pp.47-60.

[51] Wu Hui, 'Analysis of *huiguan, gongsuo, hanghui:* the network of Qing merchants.' *Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiu* [Journal of Chinese Economic History], 3(1999), pp.111-131.

[52] Liang Miaotai, *Ming Qing Jingdezhen chengshi jingji yanjiu* [Study of Jingdezhen's urban economy during the Ming and Qing dynasties] (Nanchang: 2004), p.322.

[53] Louis J. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Random House,1953)

[54] Chen Hua, *Qingdai quyu shehui jingji yanjiu* [The regional economy and society in Qing China], (Beijing: 1996), p.11.




Map 6 Map of the south China.
Source: Marks Robert, Worster Donald and Crosby Alfred W. (eds.), *Studies in Environment and History: Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Map.8.4, p.260.

The name of the *Huiguan* indicates that Zhaoqing was also involved in the porcelain trade with Jingdezhen. It is reasonable to suppose that Guangzhao *huiguan* at Jingdezhen were supported merchants from Guangzhou and Zhaoqing. Because the production of enamelled copper wares and porcelain shared similar techniques, it is arguable that merchants from Zhaoqing could also travel to Jingdezhen and purchase porcelain with no decoration, and re-fire again locally at their own workshops.

Our knowledge of this *huiguan's* details at Jingdezhen is limited, but in a text of a later period, Liu Zifen noted that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Canton porcelain dealers travelled to Jingdezhen to buy porcelain with no decorations and

later re-decorated locally.[55] The contemporary visual sources throw some light on this internal trade. A set of painting shows Canton porcelain dealers' activities at Jingdezhen visually. This series of thirty-four watercolour paintings, on porcelain making and trade, show a division of labour, the logistics and trading with Canton merchants. It is collected by Hong Kong Maritime Museum and fully published in 2005.[56] After the dealer arrives at Jingdezhen, a member of *huiguan* will receive him and introduce him to a broker. He made his order through this broker with the producer's presence. The number of pieces ordered would be written down on a 'porcelain ticket', and chopped with the shop's seal as proof.[57] On a prearranged date, the Canton dealer then came to pick up the ordered porcelain. When the transactions, packing and loading had finished, the broker and the member of *huiguan* would send the dealer off. During the whole process of purchasing, members of *huiguani* would be there to provide support. It was through this network that the trade at Canton could be maintained and realised.

As Chapter 5 has shown, there was a shift in the production of enamelled porcelain from Jingdezhen to Canton in the 1760s. The shift of manufacture from one place to another was certainly important for trade. Scholars have struggled to find out when exactly this took place. But it was also important to know where and how this happened.

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[55] Liu Zifen, *Zhuyuan taoshuo* [Ceramics studies in bamboo garden], 1925, p.46.

[56] Hong Kong Maritime Museum, *Trading China: Paintings of the Porcelain Production Process in the Qing Dynasty.* (Hong Kong: 2015). There are other paintings of this kind, but only three sets have been fully published, see Walter A. Staehelin, *The Book of Porcelain: The manufacture, transport and sale of export porcelain in China during the eighteenth century, illustrated by a contemporary series of Chinese watercolours* (Lund Humphries, 1965); Barbara Harrison, *Chineese porselein: hoe het gemaakt en cerkocht werd* (Leeuwarden : Museum het Princessehof, 1987).

[57] Lan Pu, *Jingdezhen taolu*, p.11.

Approaching porcelain dealers as a network reveals an invisible link, which leads us to local manufacture at Canton. The monograph on Jingdezhen porcelain production *History of Jingdezhen Pottery and Porcelain* mentioned:

> Zhaoqing [肇庆], has imitated enamelled copper ware from foreign countries, usually in the shape of censer, vases, saucers, dishes, bowls, plates and boxes. Although the colour is quite brilliant, it is in poor taste, and not as delicate as porcelain. However, the design was copied by Tang Ying [唐英, the supervisor of the Imperial Kiln at Jingdezhen from 1728 to 1758]. Porcelains made under the supervision of Tang Ying are much more delicate than those from Zhaoqing.[58]

Over the discussion of Guangzhao *huiguan* at Jingdezhen, it is interesting to find that Guangzhou porcelain dealers and Zhaoqing dealers shared a *huiguan.* The record from *Records of Jingdezhen Ceramics* proves that Zhaoqing was a place of enamelled copperware, and the design of their enamelled copperwares was copied in Jingdezhen. Why would dealers from copperware manufacture sites come to porcelain manufactures to buy porcelain?

One possible answer to this question is likely to be that they wanted to bring blank porcelain back and enamel them with their own ovens. Recent research has demonstrated the similarities of enamelled copperwares and enamelled porcelain.[59] Jorge Welsh shows that the oven for firing enamelled copperwares and enamelled porcelain was similar.[60] Because of the lack of historical evidence, we cannot have a detailed analysis of the commercial network between Guangzhou and Zhaoqing and

[58] Ibid., p.112.
[59] Luisa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *China of all Colours: Painted Enamels on Copper* (London: Jorge Welsh Research and Publishing, 2015), pp.30-36.
[60] Vinhais and Welsh, *China of all Colours*, p.29.

it is impossible to identify their direct connections. However, their role in stimulating local production is evident. It is their corporative connection that resulted in a steady growing trade till the early nineteenth century. This is important, since it challenges us to reconsider well-established scholarship on Canton trade. It shows that Canton, as a port city, formed networks not only for trade, but also from manufactures.

The focus on Chinese porcelain dealers illustrates the network of porcelain trade at Canton in the second half of the eighteenth century. With the same economic interests, porcelain dealers connected with different trade systems with foreign traders and with the Jingdezhen porcelain centre. For studies on Canton trade, the examination of such networks is definitely important as it would shed light on the internal mechanism, which could bring a better understanding of the trade.

## 7.5. Conclusion

Porcelain shops were the main source of porcelain for the European East India Companies, and their trade activities were valuable for gaining a better understanding of Chinese porcelain trade of the eighteen century. Yet, little research has been done with regard to porcelain shops and shopkeepers. Moreover, due to the lack of material, the investigation was hindered by fragmented textual records. The approach adopted in this chapter has combined textual records and visual representations and has illustrated the development of porcelain shops at Canton.

This chapter has demonstrated that the success of porcelain dealers also depended on their capacity to combine their technical skills with a certain knowledge and understanding of the trade. By presenting and displaying samples to their foreign

customers, they managed to reduce the risk of being rejected. As long distance traders, except for commercial network, Canton porcelain dealers also had to set up a *huiguan* to maintain adequate contact with local manufactures. The fact that Guangzhou and Zhaoqing shared one *huiguan* indicated further valuable information on the production of enamelled porcelain in the eighteenth century. In essence, this chapter has applied the approach of network to show how porcelain dealers played their roles in the trade.

# CHAPTER 8. Conclusion

This thesis has set out to investigate Chinese enamelled porcelain of the eighteenth century using a more contextual approach, so as to consider the introduction and circulation of new techniques and their impact on consumption, both within the Chinese empire and across the globe. In doing so, it has been possible to see the production, distribution and consumption of Chinese enamelled porcelain as interdependent systems, shaped by cross-fertilization and interaction. My thesis has sought to demonstrate that China was not merely a place of manufacture, but an active participant in all processes, from the initiation of new ideas to the sale and marketing of final products. My research has also shown that the history of domestic porcelain and export porcelain cannot be separated.

Chinese porcelain and its history have been well studied by scholars from various disciplines. Connoisseurs, collectors, and museum curators generally concentrate on the aesthetic qualities of these wares to examine their design motifs, forms, kiln complexes, archaeological finds and notable collections. The history of Chinese porcelain trade between China and other countries has also been well illustrated on the basis of archaeological finds and the historical records of the East India Companies.[1] Meanwhile, economic historians have used Chinese porcelain as a

[1]The most widely read texts on this subject are David Howard and John Ayres, *China for the West: Chinese Porcelain and other Decorative Arts for Export Illustrated from the Mottahedeh Collection* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978); C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982); John Carswell, *Blue & White: Chinese porcelain around the world* (London: British Museum Press, 2000).

marker of economic growth; Chinese porcelains, along with other Asian goods are thought to have provided a significant impetus for economic growth in Europe of the eighteenth century.[2] Chinese porcelain, as a highly desirable good, has been demonstrated as having contributed to the growth of a consumer society in Europe, and indeed, had a direct impact on manufacturing and innovation in Britain, which arguably contributed to the emergence of the industrial revolution.[3] The importance of porcelain has also been explored by global historians; as a material culture, Chinese porcelain is used for studies of global connections.[4] However, current scholarship has failed to demonstrate the extent to which the Chinese production and global consumption of Chinese porcelain experienced significant historical developments and changes.

In order to fill this significant omission in present scholarship, my research started with the historical context of enamels and enamelling techniques in porcelain production in China of the eighteenth century, starting *c.*1720. In seeing the technique

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[2] A useful summary of this can be found in Stacey Pierson, 'The Movement of Chinese Ceramics: Appropriation in Global History' *Journal of World History*, 23:1 (2012), pp.9-13.

[3] See Maxine Berg, 'Britain's Asian Century: Porcelain and Global History in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Joel Mokyr and Laura Cruz (eds.) *The Birth of Modern Europe: Culture and Economy, 1400-1800. Essays in Honor of Jan de Vries* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp.133-157; 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global Origins of British Consumer Goods', *Past and Present*, 182 (2004), pp.85-142; 'Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution,' in Maxine Berg and E. Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desire and Delectable Goods* (London: Palgrave, 2003), pp.228-244; 'From imitation to invention: creating commodities in eighteenth century Britain' *Economic History Review*, 55 (2002), pp.1-30; Robert Batchelor, 'On the Movement of Porcelains: Rethinking the Birth of Consumer Society as Interactions of Exchange Networks, 1600-1750,'in J. Brewer and F. Trentmann (eds.), *Consuming and Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), pp.95-121.

[4] For a brief summary of this subject see Anne Gerritsen and Stephen McDowall, 'Global China: Material Culture and Connections in World History,' in *Journal of World History*, 23, 1 (2012), pp.3-8.

of enamelled porcelain as ‘useful knowledge’, this research has traced the transmission and innovation of enamelling techniques on porcelain. While current scholarship only focuses on how local manufactures supported the court, my analysis of the transmission of enamels and enamelling techniques on porcelain revealed interactive relations among the imperial workshops at the court, Jingdezhen and Canton. Moreover, in contrast to the current view of ‘useful knowledge’ as being largely controlled by the imperial court in China and on the whole inaccessible to the wider population, my discussion of the transmission processes and networks has shown that the emperor and the workers in the imperial workshops of the Qing court responded actively to the influx of new techniques. I have also been able to show that the technological knowledge owned by the court was indeed accessible for manufactures beyond the imperial court.

Following the discussion on technological innovation, I explored the impact of this development on consumption, both domestically and globally. This discussion viewed enamelled porcelain as a type of commodity that embodied values that were attractive to eighteenth-century Chinese consumers. My analysis of domestic consumption in the eighteenth century has further shown that enamelled porcelain was not merely consumed by the imperial court, but reached a wider market.

In drawing attention to the records of the English East India Company, the present research has also provided a detailed discussion of the ways in which the Chinese producers and merchants actively participated in the trade in enamelled porcelain. This is the first time that the Chinese enamelled porcelain trade with the EEIC has been investigated to this level of depth. My analysis showed that the trade of enamelled porcelain could usefully be separated into several chronologically separate

stages. During the period between 1729 and 1740, I demonstrated that enamelled porcelain, which appeared as a new type of porcelain in the market, brought new commercial opportunities, especially for small dealers who were not Hong merchants.

In regard to the period from 1740 to 1760, my research brought to light new information, hitherto unknown to scholars of Chinese export porcelain trade. By collecting data from the EEIC records, I was able to show that the enamelled porcelain trade increased steadily, while the blue and white porcelain trade fluctuated. In contrast to current studies that are usually associated with the export trade of the Company, I have shown the factors at play on the China side. The discussion surrounding the period 1740-1760 also contributed to the issue of Canton enamelled porcelain production, based on data and textual records, and I argued that during this period, there were few enamel workshops producing enamelled porcelain.

I have also shown a series of events that occurred during the period 1750s and have demonstrated their impact on the porcelain trade. I have argued that these events promoted the porcelain trade, and resulted in the establishment of enamelled porcelain workshops in Canton. Finally, I discussed the role of porcelain dealers at Canton. As the main suppliers to the export market, the porcelain dealers and their role in the trade have never been studied before. In contrast to present studies that tend to see Chinese merchants individually, I have viewed these dealers as a group or a network. In so doing, I have been able to demonstrate that Chinese porcelain dealers have promptly and actively responded to different market demands and opportunities.

With regard to methodology, my thesis has provided a number of perspectives to facilitate the study of the Chinese porcelain trade. The records of the EEIC may be used as the primary source for analysing the export porcelain trade. My thesis has also

used a number of export paintings as a visual source to provide supplementary evidence to illustrate the development of the porcelain trade at Canton. It is important to realise that, besides textual records, visual sources are crucial for reconstructing the trade. The materials I have used in this research may be used for further research on the Chinese export trade over a broader historical and geographic range, and could also be used to consider the tea and silk trade.

In addition to the above-mentioned contributions made by this thesis, my research has demonstrated that the history of Chinese porcelain and its trade, as presented here, is neither linear nor one-dimensional. Such a contextualised approach to the Chinese porcelain trade is necessary and important, and can provide a wealth of information concerning how production and consumption, whether local and global, interacted in different time periods.

My research may be followed up in many ways. Except for blue and white porcelain, enamelled, white porcelain was also imported to Europe in large quantities. The King of Saxony, Augustus the Strong, had over 1400 pieces of white glazed porcelain made in Dehua, Fujian.[5] White glazed porcelain is also called blanc de Chine,[6] which was collected at the English royal palace at Hampton Court and showed up in the 1688 catalogues of holdings in the Cecil family's Burghley House.[7] Records of the VOC and the EEIC have also revealed that 'white' porcelain was imported to the UK in large quantities. The approach used in this research and sources

[5] For a transcription of the Dehua porcelain entries in the 1721 inventory of Augustus the Strong's collection, see Appendix 3 in P.J. Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine: The Porcelain of Têhua in Fukien* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp.337-347.
[6] Blanc de Chine is the traditional European term for a type of white Chinese porcelain, made at Dehua, in Fujian province, in the northeast of Canton. For a very good overview on Blanc de Chine, see, John Ayers, 'Blanc de Chine: Some Reflections' in Rose Kerr and John Ayers (eds.), *Blanc de Chine: Porcelain from Dehua* (Surrey, 2002), pp.19-35.
[7] Ibid.p.21.

from the EEIC as well as the visual materials may also further the possibility for research on Dehua porcelain and its trade. Together with my current research, a distribution map could be produced of different types of porcelain and production workshops for the export market near Canton, which could shed new light on the Chinese export trade and the socio-economic history of eighteenth-century China.

It is hoped that future investigation of Chinese enamelled porcelain may be conducted in a scientific laboratory. A scientific examination of their enamel colours may help us to identify their site where the pieces were made. In doing so, museum curators would be able to identify their collection of enamelled porcelain as belonging to a more concrete time period. Until now, in contrast to armorial enamelled porcelain dated by coats of arms, the large amount of enamelled porcelain has not yet been dated with any great precision.

Whether guilds in Jingdezhen were associated with specialization of the kilns deserves a further investigation. As Jörg has suggested that the reason *famille verte* porcelain were lack of European-style decoration was the division of work at kilns and different part of commercial networks.[8] Such insight can be also linked with the discussion of the trade networks in Jingdezhen in this thesis.

A future comparative study of China's enamelled porcelain with the production of European manufactures is also potentially fruitful. In particular, it is important to clarify whether there were exchanges in techniques and designs.

Overall, this thesis has shed light on the study of Chinese porcelain and the Chinese porcelain trade. It is hoped that this research will contribute to fostering a renewed way of looking at Chinese exported goods (tea, silk, porcelain) that involves

[8] Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Famille Verte Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels* (Groninger Museum, 2011), p.11.

both production and consumption. The story of what happened within China should always be seen as inextricably linked to global patterns of technology, production and consumption. Such studies can not only provide a more detailed understanding of Chinese industries, but also make connections directly relevant to the broader context in terms of how China responded to export markets in a global context.

# APPENDICES

**Appendix A** Porcelain imported by the English East India Company at Canton 1729-1743; 1750, 1751, 1755, 1759, 1761, 1764, 1768, 1774, 1776, 1777.

**Notes:** For the shape of porcelain, some of them were bought in sets, such as Dishes, D.5 means 5 dishes as one set; B&W refers to Blue and White.

**Source:** The English East India Company Factory Records, Canton, IOR/G/12.

IOR/G/12/28: 1729; IOR/G/12/31: 1731; IOR/G/12/33: 1732; IOR/G/12/33: 1733

IOR/G/12/35, IOR/G/12/36, IOR/G/12/37: 1734

IOR/G/12/38, IOR/G/12/39, IOR/G/12/40: 1735

IOR/G/12/40, IOR/G/12/41: 1736; IOR/G/12/41, IOR/G/12/42, IOR/G/12/43: 1737

IOR/G/12/45: 1738; IOR/G/12/46, IOR/G/12/47: 1739; IOR/G/12/48: 1740

IOR/G/12/49, IOR/G/12/50: 1741; IOR/G/12/50, IOR/G/12/51: 1742

IOR/G/12/52, IOR/G/12/53, IOR/G/12/54: 1750

IOR/G/12/55, IOR/G/12/56: 1751; IOR/G/12/57: 1753

IOR/G/12/58: 1774; IOR/G/12/59: 1776; IOR/G/12/59, IOR/G/12/62: 1777

IOR/R/10/4: 1755, 1759; IOR/R/10/5: 1761, 1764.

For year 1768, the source is from: Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain and Its Influence on European Wares* (London and New York: Granada, 1979), pp.133-134.

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1729 | Coiqua | B &W | Chocolate Cups with Handles | 3000 | 0.03 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 16000 | 0.036 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers No Handles | 10000 | 0.02 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.038 |
| | | | | 9000 | 0.038 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 3000 | 0.12 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 179 | 0.08 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.056 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes D.5 | 100 | 2.4 |
| | | | Plates | 3100 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.14 |
| | | White | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.04 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 500 | 0.08 |
| | Cungqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers Chocolate | 4000 | 0.035 |
| | Hongqua | B&W | Sneakers | 2200 | 0.028 |
| | Leonqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers Chocolate | 20000 | 0.03 |
| | Luiqua | B&W | Sneakers Sn.3 | 3000 | 0.12 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 2700 | 0.1 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Dishes D.5 | 100 | 0.2 |
| | | Enamelled | Plates 6 Sorts | 8900 | 0.12 |
| | | | Water Saucers 4 Sorts | 6000 | 0.07 |
| | Pinkey | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.20 | 100 | 2.7 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.7/P.20 | 50 | 2.8 |
| | | | Sneakers | 200 | 0.04 |
| | Quiqua | B&W | Tea Table Sets | 500 | 1 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers Chocolate | 6000 | 0.12 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.08 |
| | | | Dishes D.5 | 200 | 2.4 |
| | | | Plates | 4000 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.12 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 200 | 2.6 |
| | Suqua | B&W | Bowls | 120 | 0.4 |
| | | | | 130 | 0.4 |
| | | | Bowls B.4 | 25 | 1.1 |
| | | | | 60 | 1.1 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 150 | 1.1 |
| | | | | 170 | 1.1 |
| | | | | 170 | 1.1 |
| | | | | 180 | 1.1 |
| | | | | 190 | 1.1 |
| | | | | 298 | 1.1 |
| | | | Bowls B.5 | 150 | 1.4 |
| | | | | 150 | 1.4 |
| | | | | 400 | 1.4 |
| | | | Dishes D.5 | 54 | 1.6 |
| | | | | 68 | 1.6 |
| | | | | 430 | 1.6 |
| | | | Plates | 260 | 0.038 |
| | | | | 1467 | 0.038 |
| | | | | 1500 | 0.038 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.038 |
| | | | | 4740 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 12000 | 0.038 |
| | | | Plates P.5 | 100 | 1.6 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 170 | 0.08 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.08 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 800 | 1.4 |
| | | | | 1500 | 1.4 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls B.4 | 130 | 1.8 |
| | | | | 240 | 1.8 |
| | | | Dishes D.13 | 16 | 6.5 |
| | | | | 46 | 6.5 |
| | | | | 48 | 6.5 |
| | | | | 49 | 6.5 |
| | | | Plates | 500 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 1400 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 1472 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 1570 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.12 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.12 |
| | Tinqua | B&W | Bowls B.8 | 300 | 2.5 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 1300 | 0.1 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 77000 | 0.03 |
| | | | Plates | 10000 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 14000 | 0.034 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 700 | 0.08 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 1650 | 0.1 |
| | | | Water Saucers | 5000 | 0.03 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 11000 | 0.09 |
| | | Enamelled | Plates | 12000 | 0.14 |
| 1731 | Cuiqua | Enamelled | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Leonqua | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 60 | 15 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 2000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 8000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 9000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.23 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.23 |
| | | | Cups C.3 | 20000 | 0.15 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.100 | 100 | 22 |
| | | | | 100 | 22 |
| | | | Plates | 500 | 0.3 |
| | | | | 1000 | 0.28 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.28 |
| | | | Sneakers | 5000 | 0.2 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.2 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls B.5 | 60 | 22 |
| 1732 | Beau Khinqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.8/P.24 | 18 | 3.3 |
| | | | | 22 | 3.3 |
| | | | | 60 | 1.5 |
| | | | Plates | 3000 | 0.05 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.24 | 30 | 3.5 |
| | | | | 35 | 3 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.24 | 45 | 3.6 |
| | | | | 50 | 3.6 |
| | | | | 50 | 3.6 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.8/P.24 | 50 | 4.1 |
| | Leunqua | B&W | Cups | 30000 | 0.015 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 43000 | 0.019 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.40 | 200 | 2.7 |
| | | | Plates | 5000 | 0.028 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 80 | 0.05 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls B.5 | 100 | 2.2 |
| | | | Plates | 4000 | 0.6 |
| | Mandareen Zuiqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 40000 | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 400 | 0.05 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 0.09 |
| | | | | 100 | 1.2 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.17/P.60 | 30 | 10.5 |
| | | | | 30 | 10 |
| | | | | 30 | 10 |
| | | | | 80 | 13 |
| | | | | 100 | 3 |
| | | | Plates | 7000 | 0.09 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 2 |
| | Mandereen Zuiqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.17/P.60 | 200 | 6 |
| | Pinkey | B&W | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 0.9 |
| | | Enamelled | Sneakers | 1000 | 0.11 |
| | Pinqua/Qinqua | B&W | Cups | 4000 | 0.015 |
| | | | Plates | 14000 | 0.03 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1000 | 0.05 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 17000 | 0.024 |
| | | | | 30000 | 0.019 |
| | | | Dishes | 3000 | 0.032 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 80 | 1.4 |
| | | | Milk Pots | 1000 | 0.04 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1200 | 0.05 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 15000 | 0.038 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 60 | 1.4 |
| | Tinqua | B&W | Bowls | 600 | 0.13 |
| | | | Chocolate Cups | 1000 | 0.013 |
| | | | | 1000 | 0.13 |
| | | | Chocolate Mugs | 3000 | 0.35 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.028 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 60 | 2.4 |
| | | | Plates | 7000 | 0.03 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 14000 | 0.052 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 500 | 0.05 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 1200 | 0.12 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 500 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 1000 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 1000 | 0.11 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 1.4 |
| | Young Hunqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 2500 | 0.013 |
| | | | Plates | 6000 | 0.029 |
| | Young Luiqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 7000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 21500 | 0.02 |
| | Young Phillis | B&W | Plates | 2000 | 0.03 |
| | | Enamelled | Plates | 2000 | 0.7 |
| | Young Zuiqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.018 |
| 1733 | Beau Khinqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 12000 | 0.017 |
| | Leunqua | B&W | Cups | 15000 | 0.09 |
| | | | | 20000 | 0.015 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 13000 | 0.024 |
| | | | | 34000 | 0.02 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 50 | 1.7 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.40 | 200 | 2.7 |
| | | | Plates | 27000 | 0.028 |
| | | | Sneakers | 10000 | 0.02 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1800 | 0.05 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 1200 | 1 |
| | Mandereen Zuiqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 200 | 2.2 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 1300 | 0.9 |
| | Old Quiqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 200 | 3 |
| | | Enamelled | Tea Table Sets | 200 | 1.4 |
| | Phillis | B&W | Dishes | 800 | 0.06 |
| | | | Sneakers | 1000 | 0.1 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 36000 | 0.024 |
| | | | | 65000 | 0.02 |
| | | | Dishes | 2000 | 0.032 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.026 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 7500 | 0.06 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 200 | 0.08 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 200 | 1.4 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quiqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.100 | 100 | 8 |
| | Tinqua | B&W | Water Saucers | 6000 | 0.02 |
| | Tonqua | B&W | Cups | 13120 | 0.01 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.021 |
| | | | Dishes D.3 | 1000 | 0.18 |
| | | | Mugs | 200 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 225 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 1500 | 0.018 |
| | | | Plates | 1760 | 0.027 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 670 | 0.04 |
| | Young Phillis | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 7000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.025 |
| | Young Pinky | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 8000 | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1000 | 0.05 |
| 1734 | Chiqua and Company | B&W | Bowls | 800 | 0.02 |
| | | | Coffee Cups | 8000 | 0.005 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 4200 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 5100 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 6100 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 10300 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 14500 | 0.02 |
| | | | Dishes and Plated D.18/P.75 | 23 | 5.2 |
| | | | | 23 | 5.2 |
| | | | Milk Pots | 1800 | 0.002 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 150 | 0.07 |
| | Emanuel | B&W | Plates | 13000 | 0.024 |
| | Leongua | B&W | Coffee Cups | 7000 | 0.013 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 4000 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.022 |
| | Old Zuiqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 20000 | 0.015 |
| | Pinkey | B&W | Bowls | 385 | 0.16 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 4500 | 0.022 |
| | | | Water Plates | 7000 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 8000 | 0.02 |
| | Quiqua | B&W | Bowls | 60 | 0.3 |
| | | | Cups | 5000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 35000 | 0.023 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.100 | 100 | 8 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Tea Pots | 1700 | 0.01 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 150 | 0.366666667 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.60 | 50 | 9 |
| | Simonds | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 26000 | 0.022 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 20 | 2.5 |
| | | | Mugs | 120 | 0.065 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 2.7 |
| | Tinqua | B&W | Tea Pots | 1800 | 0.04 |
| | | | Water Plates | 500 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.02 |
| | Tunqua | B&W | Milk Pots | 5240 | 0.018 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 1150 | 0.18 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 20 | 4.5 |
| | | | | 50 | 3 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.05 |
| | Young Hunqua | B&W | Bowls | 1300 | 0.12 |
| | | | Dishes D.17 | 150 | 5 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 700 | 0.035 |
| | Young Zuiqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 15000 | 0.013 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 260 | 1 |
| 1735 | Chaqua | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 200 | 0.9 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 8000 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 8000 | 0.012 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 6600 | 0.032 |
| | Chinqua | B&W | Bowls B.6 | 100 | 0.85 |
| | | | Coffee Mugs | 3300 | 0.014 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 7000 | 0.012 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.30 | 80 | 1.1 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.25 | 60 | 1.9 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 2800 | 0.02 |
| | | Enamelled | Coffee Mugs | 3400 | 0.014 |
| | Chuqua Alias Pinkey | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 70 | 1.1 |
| | | | Cups | 3000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 1600 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.015 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 12000 | 0.012 |
| | | | Dishes | 2000 | 0.055 |
| | | | | 2300 | 0.08 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.40 | 30 | 6 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.4/P.12 | 30 | 6 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.5 |
| | | | | 180 | 1.5 |
| | | | Mugs | 3500 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 3600 | 0.015 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 4800 | 0.025 |
| | | | Sneakers | 5000 | 0.052 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 400 | 0.27 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 50 | 3 |
| | | | | 50 | 2.7 |
| | | | | 50 | 2.7 |
| | | | | 150 | 3 |
| | | | Plates | 4800 | 0.05 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 0.8 |
| | | | | 200 | 4 |
| | Emanuel | B&W | Plates | 1500 | 0.005 |
| | Hinqua | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers Chocolate | 2800 | 0.045 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers with Handles | 3000 | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 240 | 0.065 |
| | Hunqua | B&W | Cups | 5500 | 0.01 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 6900 | 0.012 |
| | | | Mugs | 3400 | 0.01 |
| | | | Mugs M.3 | 100 | 0.13 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.024 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 200 | 0.7 |
| | Khiqua Hawksbile | B&W | Plates | 10000 | 0.024 |
| | Leonqua | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 100 | 1 |
| | | | | 250 | 1.8 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 7000 | 0.012 |
| | | | | 18000 | 0.022 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 100 | 5.8 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.40 | 100 | 2.6 |
| | | | Mugs with Handles | 6700 | 0.014 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 400 | 0.04 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 200 | 0.5 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 1000 | 0.15 |
| | | | | 3500 | 0.2 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.30 | 100 | 3.6 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.30 | 80 | 3.8 |
| | | | Plates | 1200 | 0.04 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.05 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 165 | 0.8 |
| | Leunqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.20 | 100 | 1.6 |
| | | | Sneakers | 2000 | 0.055 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1800 | 0.05 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 560 | 0.8 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 2400 | 0.2 |
| | | | Bowls and Dishes B.5/D.5 | 130 | 1.2 |
| | | | Bowls B.5 | 60 | 2 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 50 | 3 |
| | | | Dishes D.7 | 57 | 1.8 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 390 | 1.4 |
| | Pinkey | Coloured and Gold | Plates | 2000 | 0.1 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.24 | 100 | 1.6 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 4800 | 0.045 |
| | | | | 16000 | 0.032 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 60 | 7.5 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 500 | 1.05 |
| | Quiqua | B&W | Tea Pots | 1500 | 0.05 |
| | Seuqua | B&W | Bowls | 1000 | 0.13 |
| | | | Bowls B.5 | 100 | 0.9 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 24000 | 0.012 |
| | | | | 55 | 1.1 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.30 | 138 | 1.1 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.30 Soup | 145 | 1.1 |
| | | | Dishes D.3 | 1000 | 0.15 |
| | | | Plates | 17900 | 0.026 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Dishes | 500 | 0.25 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.12 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 4.5 |
| | Simon | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.5 |
| | | | | 300 | 1.5 |
| | Sinqua | B&W | Plates | 10000 | 0.024 |
| | Suqua | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 400 | 0.44 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 4000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 35 | 1.1 |
| | | | Dishes D.5 | 120 | 0.5 |
| | | | Soup Dishes Sp.3 | 100 | 0.2 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Dishes | 2000 | 0.29 |
| | | Enamelled | Tea Table Sets | 300 | 1 |
| | Teonqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 20000 | 0.013 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.17/P.60 | 100 | 5.5 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 2.9 |
| | Tiqua | Coloured and Gold | Plates | 1000 | 0.1 |
| | Tunqua | B&W | Tea Pots | 1000 | 0.04 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 500 | 0.8 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.15/P.20 | 150 | 2 |
| | Young Honqua | B&W | Dishes | 145 | 0.08 |
| | | | | 430 | 0.06 |
| | | | Sneakers | 130 | 0.1 |
| | | | Sugar Dishes | 235 | 0.1 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets (12 Saucers, 1 Sugar Dish, 1 Slop Bason, 1 Tea Pot and Saucer, 1 Milk Pot, 6 Cups With Handles) | 150 | 0.8 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 1000 | 0.28 |
| | | | Plates | 1050 | 0.11 |
| 1736 | Gonqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 1000 | 0.011 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.013 |
| | Hequa | B&W | Bowls B.4 | 8 | 0.8 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers Fine | 15100 | 0.03 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.97 | 25 | 10 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 2000 | 0.053 |
| | John Baptist | B&W | Soup Plates | 200 | 0.05 |
| | Leonqua | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 100 | 1.2 |
| | | | Cups | 10000 | 0.015 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 28000 | 0.024 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.40 | 23 | 2.2 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.30 | 200 | 2.4 |
| | | | Plates | 1000 | 0.04 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 538 | 0.05 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 0.9 |
| | | | | 200 | 0.8 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 1600 | 0.2 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.30 | 100 | 3.6 |
| | Lunqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 220 | 0.015 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 48 | 6 |
| | | | Plates | 78 | 0.024 |
| | | | | 138 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 2979 | 0.024 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 148 | 0.045 |
| | | | | 471 | 0.045 |
| | Manoel | B&W | Tea Pots | 292 | 0.45 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 200 | 0.75 |
| | | Painted | Bowls | 145 | 0.1 |
| | Manuel | B&W | Cups | 17 | 0.41 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 4017 | 0.41 |
| | | | | 6326 | 0.41 |
| | | | | 9000 | 0.013 |
| | | | | 23000 | 0.023 |
| | Pinkey | B&W | Milk Pots | 211 | 0.03 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 268 | 0.04 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ponqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 592 | 0.14 |
| | | | | 7131 | 0.14 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 23000 | 0.013 |
| | | | | 30000 | 0.022 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 70 | 7 |
| | | | | 70 | 7 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 8 | 1.8 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 50 | 0.02 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 300 | 0.75 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 8 | 7 |
| | Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 266 | 0.015 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 0.85 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Tea Table Sets | 131 | 1 |
| | Sago | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.012 |
| | Seuqua | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 1000 | 0.45 |
| | Sinqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 3166 | 0.017 |
| | Suqua | Blue and Gold | Tea Pots | 70 | 0.05 |
| | | B&W | Bowls | 510 | 0.28 |
| | | | | 682 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 1111 | 0.13 |
| | | | Bowls B.4 | 77 | 2.2 |
| | | | Cups | 1753 | 0.01 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 113 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 278 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 942 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 1225 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 2998 | 0.03 |
| | | | Dishes D.4 | 78 | 2 |
| | | | Plates | 194 | 0.024 |
| | | | Sneakers | 277 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 292 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 382 | 0.04 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 199 | 0.28 |
| | Tequa | B&W | Cups | 1300 | 0.011 |
| | | | | 1489 | 0.011 |
| | | | | 7750 | 0.09 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1979 | 0.045 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Teunqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.028 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 4000 | 0.06 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1080 | 0.045 |
| | Teunqua & Gowqua | B&W | Bowls | 1464 | 0.09 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2218 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 6661 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 9317 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 10549 | 0.016 |
| | | | Sneakers | 2676 | 0.013 |
| | Texia and Simon | B&W | Bowls B.4 | 99 | 1 |
| | | | Cups | 1201 | 0.014 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 81 | 1.7 |
| | | | Table Sets | 16 | 6.3 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 110 | 0.85 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 50 | 2.8 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.1/P.13 | 99 | 2.2 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.16 | 2 | 1.55 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 2.6 |
| | | | Plates | 1960 | 0.52 |
| | | | | 1968 | 0.52 |
| | Timqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 4710 | 0.019 |
| | | | | 7009 | 0.019 |
| | | | | 9189 | 0.019 |
| | Tiqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 7000 | 0.022 |
| | Tom | B&W | Cups | 10000 | 0.015 |
| | Tucksia | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.013 |
| | | | | 7000 | 0.02 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 50 | 2.8 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.6 |
| | | | | 100 | 1.9 |
| | | | Mugs | 2600 | 0.014 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 1000 | 0.15 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 300 | 0.9 |
| | | Browns | Tea Pots | 490 | 0.08 |
| | | Painted | Bowls | 1000 | 0.2 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 1000 | 0.2 |
| | Tunqua | B&W | Tea Table Sets | 550 | 1.05 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Young Honqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.02 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 240 | 6.8 |
| | | | Plates | 240 | 0.03 |
| | Young Khiqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 1643 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 1799 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 6545 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 9750 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 10026 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 10259 | 0.03 |
| | | | Water Plates | 4330 | 0.025 |
| | | Red and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 836 | 0.03 |
| | | | Mugs | 1738 | 0.22 |
| | Zuiqua | B&W | Cups | 964 | 0.024 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.4/P.40 | 30 | 6 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 80 | 1.8 |
| | | | | 80 | 1.8 |
| | | | | 81 | 1.8 |
| | | | Plates | 317 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 320 | 0.3 |
| | | | | 323 | 0.03 |
| 1737 | Chinqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60/Sd..1/P.12 | 100 | 8.3 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls 5 In A Sets | 30 | 1.8 |
| | Emanuel | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 15000 | 0.023 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.20/P.60/Sd.2/Sp.20 | 100 | 8.1 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.4/P.20 | 200 | 1.4 |
| | | | Single Plates | 13000 | 0.024 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 100 | 0.8 |
| | | Enamelled | Chocolate Cups | 2800 | 0.05 |
| | Emanuel Quiqua/Zuiqua | B&W | Dishes | 5000 | 0.055 |
| | | | Sets of Small Deep Dishes 3 In A Sets | 18 | 0.7 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Dishes | 1000 | 0.11 |
| | | | Sets of Small Deep Dishes 3 In A Sets | 18 | 1.4 |
| | Emanuell | B&W | Sneakers and Plates | 435 | 0.055 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Coloured and Gold | Sneakers and Plates | 964 | 0.11 |
| | Gouqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 90000 | 0.013 |
| | | | Handle Cups | 8000 | 0.013 |
| | | | Oint Mugs | 200 | 0.04 |
| | | | Quart Mugs | 200 | 0.06 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.24/P.100 | 100 | 8.5 |
| | | | Sets of Soup Dishes and Plates D.2/P.24 | 100 | 2.5 |
| | Huquoi | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 11000 | 0.035 |
| | Khiqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.5 |
| | | | Large Cups and Saucers | 2352 | 0.023 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates 8 Square D.17/P.60 | 40 | 8 |
| | | | Single Plates | 1256 | 0.05 |
| | Leanguoi | B&W | Chocolate Cups with Handles | 2653 | 0.012 |
| | | | Large Cups and Saucers | 2504 | 0.024 |
| | Leanquoi | B&W | Half Dishes | 4821 | 0.055 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Single Plates | 2951 | 0.024 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 618 | 0.055 |
| | Leonqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 110 | 6.5 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls B.5 | 100 | 1.4 |
| | Mandareen Koiqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.17/P.60 | 100 | 6 |
| | | Enamelled | Plates | 3000 | 0.05 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.17/P.61 | 46 | 7 |
| | | | Sets of Soup Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 70 | 3.6 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers 3 Sorts | 20000 | 0.015 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.5 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 600 | 0.8 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quiua | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 3300 | 0.14 |
| | Robin Alias Hounqua | B&W | Chocolate Cups | 700 | 0.008 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 300 | 6.5 |
| | | | Tea Tables | 1000 | 0.8 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Tea Tables | 100 | 2.6 |
| | | | | 200 | 1.2 |
| | Tetsqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 700 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 1000 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.02 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 2500 | 0.04 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 200 | 0.12 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 160 | 0.07 |
| | Tetsqua & Simmonds | B&W | Bowls 5 In A Sets | 150 | 0.9 |
| | | | | 800 | 0.7 |
| | | | Coffee Cans | 5000 | 0.012 |
| | Texsha | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 2.7 |
| | Texsha & Simons | B&W | Coffee Mugs with Handles | 5000 | 0.013 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | (Unknown) | 0.02 |
| | | | Chocolate Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.05 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.05 |
| | Tycho | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | (Unknown) | 0.014 |
| | Young Chanqua | B&W | Tea Pots | 1000 | 0.03 |
| 1738 | (Unknown) | Coloured and Gold | Bowls B.5 | 100 | 1.5 |
| | Assea | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.018 |
| | Chinqua | B&W | Single Plates | 4000 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.027 |
| | Conscientia | B&W | Single Plates | 6000 | 0.024 |
| | Falix | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 300 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.018 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 613 | 0.032 |
| | Khiqua | B&W | Sneakers and Plates | 3000 | 0.05 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Leonqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.5/P.40 | 100 | 2.3 |
| | | | Single Plates | 372 | 0.026 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.026 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls B.5 | 100 | 1.5 |
| | Manoel | B&W | Sneakers and Plates | 1000 | 0.06 |
| | | | | 2000 | 0.06 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 600 | 0.035 |
| | Pinkey | (Unknown) | Water Saucers | 7000 | 0.027 |
| | | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.016 |
| | | | Single Plates | 20000 | 0.026 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Single Plates | 5000 | 0.065 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 550 | 0.02 |
| | Powqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 110 | 1.5 |
| | | | Single Plates | 130 | 0.025 |
| | Powqua Tnansoy | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 2800 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 19500 | 0.016 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.13/P.60 | 100 | 5.5 |
| | Seuqua | B&W | Bowls B.4 | 300 | 0.4 |
| | | | | 500 | 0.45 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.4 |
| | | | Single Plates | 955 | 0.027 |
| | Shouqua | B&W | Plates | 1400 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 2000 | 0.027 |
| | | | Single Plates | 2200 | 0.025 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.027 |
| | Tacqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 7000 | 0.018 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 2000 | 0.055 |
| | Teunqua | (Unknown) | Milk Pots | 1500 | 0.018 |
| | | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 4000 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 16000 | 0.017 |
| | | | | 22000 | 0.018 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 47 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 273 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 1400 | 0.05 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 1200 | 0.042 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Texia | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.13/P.60 Sp.12 | 50 | 6.8 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.4/P.20 | 100 | 1.4 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.6 |
| | Tiqua | (Unknown) | Single Plates | 4000 | 0.0255 |
| | | B&W | Bowls and Sneakers 5 In A Nest | 300 | 0.45 |
| | | | Coffee Mugs | 8000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 110 | 1.5 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.5/P.21 | 110 | 1.5 |
| | | | | 120 | 1.5 |
| | | | Single Plates | 6000 | 0.0255 |
| | | | | 8000 | 0.0255 |
| | | | | 12000 | 0.0255 |
| | | | | 25000 | 0.0255 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Soup Plates | 3000 | 0.08 |
| | | White | Cups and Saucers | 4800 | 0.016 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 160 | 0.8 |
| 1739 | Che Hongquai | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 12000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 14800 | 0.015 |
| | Chinqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 6000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 8000 | 0.017 |
| | | | | 56000 | 0.015 |
| | | | Plates | 26000 | 0.025 |
| | Conscientia | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 6000 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 7000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 9000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 39000 | 0.016 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 50 | 1.1 |
| | Emanuel | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 48000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Plates | 874 | 0.055 |
| | Gonkquai | B&W | Dishes | 8500 | 0.05 |
| | | | Water Saucers | 15000 | 0.025 |
| | Hongqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 6000 | 0.02 |
| | Jeunqua | B&W | Sets of Bowls and Dish | 200 | 1 |
| | Leanquoi | B&W | Tea Pots | 1300 | 0.035 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 200 | 0.6 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Leunqua | B&W | Bowls | 250 | 0.3 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 4000 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 40000 | 0.018 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 400 | 0.18 |
| | | | Plates | 5000 | 0.026 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 1000 | 0.065 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 2000 | 0.22 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 1000 | 0.3 |
| | Manuel | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 3500 | 0.015 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 1300 | 0.22 |
| | | | | 1700 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 70000 | 0.016 |
| | | | Sneakers | 2500 | 0.014 |
| | | | | 2500 | 0.014 |
| | | | | 2700 | 0.014 |
| | Soukquoi | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 3600 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 15000 | 0.015 |
| | Suqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60/Sp.12 | 80 | 7.5 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 75 | 1.8 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.60 Sp.12 | 50 | 5 |
| | | | Plates | 8000 | 0.04 |
| | | | Sneakers | 4000 | 0.07 |
| | | | Water Plates | 20000 | 0.025 |
| | Suqua Very Fine | B&W | Bowls | 448 | 0.15 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2500 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 2500 | 0.035 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 25 | 1.6 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 30 | 1.9 |
| | | | | 100 | 1.9 |
| | | | Sets of Bowls and Dish | 100 | 0.6 |
| | | | | 200 | 0.9 |
| | | | Sneakers | 1000 | 0.07 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 400 | 0.1 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.1 |
| | | | Sugar Dishes with Covers | 450 | 0.033333333 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Suquoi | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 6000 | 0.015 |
| | Teenquoi | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 12000 | 0.016 |
| | Texia | Blue and Gold | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.20/Sp.12 | 100 | 3 |
| | | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 300 | 0.6 |
| | | | Cups | 20000 | 0.011 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.017 |
| | | | | 7500 | 0.017 |
| | | | | 7500 | 0.017 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 30 | 7.2 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.20/Sp.12 | 200 | 1.8 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 700 | 0.05 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 240 | 0.48 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 1700 | 0.045 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.005 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 3 |
| | | Red and Gold | Bowls | 800 | 0.18 |
| | Tom Tinqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 14000 | 0.016 |
| | Ton Tienqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 4300 | 0.016 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.80 | 50 | 6.5 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 2.2 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 200 | 0.005 |
| | Tongqua | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.03 |
| | Tongquai | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.016 |
| | | | Mugs | 20000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Plates | 10000 | 0.026 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.026 |
| | | | Water Saucers | 10000 | 0.026 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.026 |
| | Tounqua | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 200 | 1.6 |
| | | | Sneakers and Plates | 5000 | 0.02 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1740 | Chetqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | | | | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Chinqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 16 | (Unknown) |
| | Geequa | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 6 | (Unknown) |
| | Hekee | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | | (Unknown) |
| | Ketqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 10 | (Unknown) |
| | Leunqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 37 | (Unknown) |
| | | | | 37 | (Unknown) |
| | | | | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Robin | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 7 | (Unknown) |
| | Tetqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 21 | (Unknown) |
| | Teunqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 9 | (Unknown) |
| | | | | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| 1741 | Beau Hunqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 12000 | 0.016 |
| | Emanuell | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 23000 | 0.014 |
| | Fat Hunqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 6000 | 0.012 |
| | | | | 12000 | 0.015 |
| | Gowqua | B&W | Patty Pans 3 In A Sets | 800 | 0.15 |
| | Honest Tom | B&W | Cups | 2300 | 0.014 |
| | | | Dishes D.2 | 28 | 2 |
| | | | | 38 | 2 |
| | | | Plates | 241 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 273 | 0.05 |
| | Kiqua | B&W | Bowls B.5 | 80 | 1.25 |
| | | | Water Plates | 5948 | 0.022 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 90 | 0.5 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 214 | 0.34 |
| | Leonqua | B&W | Bowls | 500 | 0.3 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.12 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 6500 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 20000 | 0.022 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 194 | 1.6 |
| | | | Sneakers | 3000 | 0.015 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 3000 | 0.015 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Dishes | 400 | 0.15 |
| | | | Sneakers | 4000 | 0.038 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 7000 | 0.028 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.034 |
| | | | | 10000 | 0.04 |
| | | | Dishes | 200 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 500 | 0.15 |
| | | | Sneakers | 3000 | 0.04 |
| | Nunqua | B&W | Cups | 800 | 0.02 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 392 | 0.09 |
| | | | Cups | 600 | 0.025 |
| | | | Dishes | 600 | 0.09 |
| | | | Plates | 4000 | 0.054 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 89 | 0.085 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.043 |
| | Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 7800 | 0.022 |
| | Souqua | B&W | Plates | 5400 | 0.026 |
| | | | Sneakers | 4000 | 0.014 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.026 |
| | Suqua | B&W | Bowls | 400 | 0.12 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 15000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.12 | 150 | 1 |
| | | | Sneakers | 1200 | 0.06 |
| | Texia | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 300 | 0.5 |
| | | B&W | Dishes and Plates D.1/P.20 | 10 | 2.4 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.12 | 100 | 1 |
| | | | Gallon Bowls | 219 | 0.5 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Bowls | 1000 | 0.22 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.04 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.06 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.12 | 100 | 2 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 73 | 2 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 300 | 0.5 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.6/P.20 | 100 | 3 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 50 | 1.5 |
| | Tonqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 3400 | 0.028 |
| 1742 | Chetqua | B&W | Cups | 8000 | 0.02 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 10000 | 0.012 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.026 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.026 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.026 |
| | | | | 6000 | 0.022 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.12 | 150 | 1 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.7 |
| | | | Mugs | 240 | 0.014 |
| | | | Water Saucers | 5000 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.022 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.035 |
| | Cinqua | B&W | Plates | 5000 | 0.024 |
| | Emanuel | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 9000 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 9000 | 0.022 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 5000 | 0.06 |
| | Geequa | Enamelled | Mugs | 600 | 0.13 |
| | Poor Robin | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 640 | 0.022 |
| | Sweetia | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 4500 | 0.002 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.002 |
| | Tehqua | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.032 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.032 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.12 | 100 | 2.2 |
| | | | Salad Dishes | 2000 | 0.125 |
| | Tekqua | B&W | Cups | 8000 | 0.014 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 3200 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.025 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.014 |
| | Texia | B&W | Bowls | 170 | 0.4 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.026 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.21/P.60 | 50 | 8.4 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 200 | 1.5 |
| | | | Water Saucers | 3000 | 0.021 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 1200 | 0.45 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 1800 | 0.054 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 100 | 1.8 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.2/P.12 | 200 | 1.8 |
| | | | | 200 | 1.8 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 100 | 3 |
| | | | Tea Table Sets | 150 | 1.7 |
| | | | | 150 | 1.7 |
| 1750 | Apong | B&W | Plates | 2988 | 0.032 |
| | | | | 4111 | 0.032 |
| | | | | 5856 | 0.032 |
| | | | | 5903 | 0.032 |
| | | | Single Plates | 5498 | 0.031 |
| | | | Sneakers Ribbed 4 In A Sets | 1136 | 0.12 |
| | Chinqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 5622 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 6040 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 6076 | 0.02 |
| | Fuqua/Tuqua | B&W | Single Plates | 2948 | 0.03 |
| | Geequa | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 1820 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 3529 | 0.035 |
| | | | D.5/P.20/Sd.2/Sp.20 | 34 | 7 |
| | | | Sneakers Half Pint | 2430 | 0.012 |
| | | | Sugar Dishes Covers and Plates | 149 | 0.1 |
| | | | Table Sets D.3/P.12 | 99 | 0.8 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 389 | 0.05 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 3861 | 0.035 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 359 | 0.13 |
| | Suqua | B&W | Bowls Covers and Dishes | 200 | 0.8 |
| | | | Bowls Ribbed | 504 | 0.16 |
| | | | Bowls Ribbed with Dishes | 1015 | 1.2 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 1650 | 0.05 |
| | | | Dishes and Bowls | 192 | 0.56 |
| | | | Salad Dishes and Plates D.3/P.12 | 129 | 2.1 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20 | 140 | 1.5 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20/Sd.2/Sp.12 | 72 | 4 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.21 | 40 | 1 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.22 | 34 | 1.5 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.23 | 60 | 1 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 104 | 0.5 |
| | | | | 504 | 0.06 |
| | | | Water Plates | 591 | 0.024 |
| | | | | 652 | 0.024 |
| | | Sago | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | 5 |
| | Teunqua | B&W | Coffee Cups | 224 | 0.013 |
| | | | | 1266 | 0.013 |
| | | | Coffee Cups Handles | 343 | 0.012 |
| | | | | 721 | 0.013 |
| | | | Fine Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 2400 | 0.05 |
| | | | Table Sets D.11/P.20 | 39 | 8 |
| | | | Water Saucers | 632 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 912 | 0.13 |
| | Texia | B&W | Bowls 5 In A Sets | 120 | 0.53 |
| | | | Cups | 888 | 0.014 |
| | | | Handle Coffee Cups | 5000 | 0.011 |
| | | | Large Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.038 |
| | | | Patty Pans 3 In A Sets | 100 | 0.18 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.4/P.20 | 180 | 1.6 |
| | | | Single Plates | 172 | 0.03 |
| | | | Sneakers | 522 | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea Sets | 180 | 1.2 |
| | | Coloured and Enamelled | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.11/P.36. 18 Soup Plates, 2 Turnees & Dishes and 2 Sauceboats | 40 | 15.5 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 436 | 0.2 |
| | | | Patty Pans 3 In A Sets Different Sizes | 585 | 0.18 |
| | Texia(Packed) | B&W | Single Plates | 1134 | 0.03 |
| | Ton Suqua | B&W | Large Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.038 |
| | | | Plates | 1500 | 0.032 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.035 |
| | | | Ribbed Large Cups and Saucers | 1780 | 0.05 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Water Plates | 900 | 0.024 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Sets Descent Fans 4 In A Sets | 20 | 1.8 |
| | Tuqua/Fuqua | B&W | Single Plates | 4672 | 0.03 |
| | | | Sneakers Half Pint | 260 | 0.013 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20/Sd.2/Sp.12 | 10 | 9 |
| | Tuqua/Fuqua/Juqua | B&W | Sneakers Half Pint | 480 | 0.013 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20 | 100 | 1.7 |
| 1751 | Apang | B&W | Chamber Pots | 6 | 0.18 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.02 |
| | | | Gugletts and Basons | 6 | 0.28 |
| | | | Half Pint Cups and Saucers | 25 | 0.048 |
| | | | Noggins | 25 | 0.035 |
| | | | Small Bowls | 25 | 0.1 |
| | | | Sneakers | 50 | 0.024 |
| | | Enamelled | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 5 | 2.4 |
| | | | | 5 | 2.4 |
| | Apong | B&W | Coffee Cups with Handles | (Unknown) | 0.011 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.043 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.032 |
| | | | Plates Octagon | 2000 | 0.043 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 1500 | 0.053 |
| | Apong/Apang | B&W | Cups | (Unknown) | 0.011 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 8000 | 0.018 |
| | | | Plates | 3000 | 0.032 |
| | Cinqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 5000 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.018 |
| | Geequa | B&W | Coffee House Cups | (Unknown) | 0.011 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 2500 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 3000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.018 |
| | | | Plates | 2000 | 0.032 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Table Sets Sd.1/D.3/P.12/Sp.6 | 100 | 0.21 |
| | | | Table Sets Sd.1/Sp.12/D.5/P.20 | 24 | 3.8 |
| | | | Tea Pots | 500 | 0.045 |
| | | | Water Plates | 2000 | 0.025 |
| | | Enamelled | Mugs | 600 | 0.133333333 |
| | | | Mugs M.3 | 200 | 0.4 |
| | Suqua | B&W | Bowls | 500 | 0.12 |
| | | | Coffee House Cups | 1000 | 0.011 |
| | | | Coffee House Cups with Handles | (Unknown) | 0.011 |
| | | | | (Unknown) | 0.011 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 4000 | 0.002 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.045 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.002 |
| | | | | 5000 | 0.002 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 70 | 0.3 |
| | | | Pint Sneakers Ribbed | 1000 | 0.004 |
| | | | Sneakers | 500 | 0.001 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20/Sp.12 | 90 | 3.2 |
| | Sweetia | B&W | Bowls | 25 | 0.12 |
| | | | Chamber Pots | 6 | 0.18 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 2000 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 2000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 4500 | 0.002 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 5 | 2.4 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates T.2/D.11/Sp.18/P.36/Sb.2 | 50 | 13.5 |
| | | | Bason | 6 | 0.28 |
| | | | Halt Pint Cups and Saucers | 25 | 0.048 |
| | | | Noggins | 25 | 0.035 |
| | | | Sneakers | 50 | 0.024 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 500 | 0.2 |
| | | | | 500 | 0.2 |
| | | | | 500 | 0.2 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Dishes and Plates D.5/P.20 | 500 | 0.2 |
| 1753 | Geequa | B&W | Bowls | 1000 | 0.08 |
| | | | Sauce Boat | 500 | 0.15 |
| | | | Single Plates | 1000 | 0.013 |
| | | | Table Sets D.20 P.2 D.23 Sp.1 | 100 | 0.6 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 800 | 0.15 |
| | Joutia | B&W | Table Sets D.5 P.40 Soup D.1 Sp.12 | (Unknown) | 5.3 |
| | Sweetia | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 10000 | 0.023 |
| | | | Single Plates | 5000 | 0.033 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5P.20 | 100 | 2 |
| | | | | 200 | 1 |
| | | | | 200 | 2 |
| | | | Table Sets (2 Dishes and 12 Plates | 200 | 1.2 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Half Pint Bason | 3000 | 0.04 |
| | | Enamelled | Half Pint Bason | 3000 | 0.04 |
| | | | Single Plates | 3000 | 0.05 |
| 1755 | Beau Hing | Coloured and Gold | Tea Sets | 14 | 1.1 |
| | Cinqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates (D.11/P.66/Sd.1/Sp.24/T.2/Td.2/Sd.4/Sb.4/Salt.4 | 50 | 14 |
| | Footia | B&W | Bowls | 1134 | 0.02 |
| | | | Cups | 63 | 0.01 |
| | | | | 105 | 0.01 |
| | | | | 269 | 0.01 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 5483 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 10186 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 10502 | 0.02 |
| | | | Custard Cups Ribbed | 932 | 0.01 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates Sets D.5/P.20/Sd.1/Sp.12/T.1/Td.1 | 105 | 4.5 |
| | | | Table Sets D.13/P.60/Sd.1/P.24/T | 25 | 15 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | .2/Td.2/Sd.8/Sb.4/Sets t.4 | | |
| | | | Table Sets D.2/P.12 | 25 | 0.6 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20/Sd.1/P.12 | 50 | 2.6 |
| | | | | 120 | 2.6 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20/Sd.1/P.12/T.1/Td.1 | 50 | 3.6 |
| | | B&W Half Pint | Basons | 1348 | 0.014 |
| | Footia 15Chests | B&W | Half Pint Basons | 1348 | 0.014 |
| | Linqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates | 50 | 14 |
| | Loqua | B&W | Plates | 6046 | 0.031 |
| | Ququa/Geequa | B&W | Mugs | 300 | 0.066666667 |
| | | | | 549 | 0.066666667 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 1221 | 0.042 |
| | Suqua | B&W | Coffee Cups | 742 | 0.01 |
| | | | | 742 | 0.01 |
| | | | Plates | 10030 | 0.033 |
| | | | | 10030 | 0.033 |
| | | | Single Plates | 10030 | 0.033 |
| | | | | 10236 | 0.033 |
| | | | Table Sets | 200 | 1 |
| | | | | 200 | 1 |
| | | Half Painted | Basons | 4188 | 0.014 |
| | Sweetia | B&W | Bowls | 3375 | 0.1 |
| | | | Chocolate Cups and Saucers | 2615 | 0.45 |
| | | | | 2615 | 0.045 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 3639 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 4203 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 5169 | 0.022 |
| | | | Cups Saucers | 3639 | 0.2 |
| | | | | 4203 | 0.2 |
| | | | | 5169 | 0.22 |
| | | | Half Pint Basons | 2424 | 0.015 |
| | | | Pint Basons | 300 | 0.025 |
| | | | Plates | 2193 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 5158 | 0.036 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates | 30 | 13.5 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.11P.40/Sp.18/T.2/Td.2 2 Sauce Boats | 30 | 13.5 |
| | | | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.3/P.20 | 175 | 2.1 |
| | | | Single Plates | 175 | 0.21 |
| | | | | 300 | 0.25 |
| | | | | 2424 | 0.15 |
| | | | Table Sets | 7 | 15 |
| | | | Water Plates | 3086 | 0.25 |
| | | | Water Saucers | 3086 | 0.025 |
| | | B&W Falt Bottomed with Handles | Coffee Cups | 884 | 0.01 |
| | | B&W Half Pint | Basons | 2424 | 0.015 |
| | | B&W Pint | Basons | 300 | 0.025 |
| | | Half Painted | Basons | 4188 | 0.014 |
| | | Half Print | Basons White and Flowers | 609 | 0.015 |
| | | Half Print Basons B&W | Basons | 1931 | 0.015 |
| | | Half Print B&W | Tea Sets | 200 | 1.2 |
| | | White and Flowers | Pint Basons | 1596 | 0.02 |
| | Tiqua | B&W | Plates | 7944 | 0.033 |
| | Tongchong | B&W | Mugs | 234 | 0.066666667 |
| | | | Tea Sets | 80 | 1 |
| | Tunqua | B&W | Sets of Dishes and Plates D.11/P.60/Sd.1/Sp.24/T.2/Td.2/Sd.6/Sb.4/Salt.4 | 44 | 15 |
| 1759 | Cinqua | B&W | Plates | 132 | 0.03 |
| | | | Sets of Plates and Large Dishes | 6 | 12 |
| | | | | 23 | 12 |
| | | | Table Sets 116 Scrolled | 32 | 12 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Table Sets 118 Oct. | 14 | 12 |
| | Fatqua | B&W | Coffee Cups with Handles | 1071 | 0.011 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 280 | 0.016 |
| | | | | 4046 | 0.016 |
| | | | Mugs | 240 | 0.08 |
| | | | Plates | 949 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 1276 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 3132 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 3230 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 3561 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 3894 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 3939 | 0.027 |
| | | | | 5408 | 0.027 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20 | 178 | 1.3 |
| | | | Tea Sets | 7 | 1.3 |
| | | | | 35 | 2 |
| | | | | 44 | 4 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 3331 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 3770 | 0.022 |
| | | | Plates | 51 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 330 | 0.36 |
| | | | | 415 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 1103 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 2464 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 2829 | 0.036 |
| | | | Table Sets D.5/P.20 | 75 | 2 |
| | | | Tea Sets | 56 | 1.2 |
| | Hequa | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 1790 | 39.38 |
| 1761 | Bowsha/Cowsha | B&W | Bowls | 550 | 0.14 |
| | | | Breakfast Cups | 1330 | 0.045 |
| | | | | 2850 | 0.034 |
| | | | Cups with Handles | 572 | 0.012 |
| | | | | 1821 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 3610 | 0.022 |
| | | | Table Sets | 100 | 4 |
| | Geequa | B&W | Bowls 5 In A Sets | 162 | 0.88 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 3710 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 5490 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 5965 | 0.033 |
| | | | Large Cups and Saucers | 3482 | 0.033 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Large Mugs | 90 | 0.05 |
| | | | Mugs Small | 204 | 0.03 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls 3 Quarts | 350 | 0.12 |
| | | | Half Pint Sneakers | 3227 | 0.025 |
| | Gonsha | B&W | Breakfast Cups and Saucers | 2190 | 0.034 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 3356 | 0.043 |
| | Pinqua | B&W | Half Pint Sneakers | 531 | 0.015 |
| | | | Handle Cups | 629 | 0.01 |
| | | | Single Plates | 692 | 0.034 |
| | | | | 2440 | 0.033 |
| | | | Table Sets D.3/P.12 | 168 | 1.2 |
| | Quoneack | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 1780 | 0.024 |
| | Quoneack/ Quoneach | B&W | Bowls 5 In A Sets | 60 | 0.8 |
| | | | Chocolate Cups and Saucers | 230 | 0.04 |
| | | | Leaves for Pickles | 520 | 0.024384615 |
| | | | Table Sets | 10 | 11.5 |
| | Sinqua | (Unknown) | Half Pint Cups and Saucers | 5277 | 0.065 |
| | | B&W | Table Sets Pates 120 | 10 | 12.5 |
| | | | Table Sets Plates 120 | 20 | 12.5 |
| | | | Tea Cups and Saucers | 9473 | 0.022 |
| | | | Tea Cups and Saucers Squares | 950 | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea Cups and Saucers with Birds | 3616 | 0.038 |
| | | Enamelled | Large Cups and Saucers | 1095 | 0.069981735 |
| | | | Tea Cups and Saucers | 2819 | 0.038 |
| | | Enamelled and Gold | Pint Sneakers | 1084 | 0.04 |
| | | Stoned B&W | Cups and Saucers | 2130 | 0.042 |
| | Soy Chong | B&W | Single Plates | 132 | 0.04 |
| | | | Table Sets | 18 | 13 |
| | | | Table Sets and Plates 130 | 20 | 14 |
| | Soychong | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 3555 | 0.022 |
| | | | | 6890 | 0.022 |
| | | | Table Sets | 18 | 15 |
| | Suchin | B&W | Cups | 532 | 0.015 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 126 | 0.024 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 400 | 0.028 |
| | | | | 475 | 0.025 |
| | | | Cups with Handles | 78 | 0.015 |
| | | | Single Plates | 942 | 0.036996815 |
| | | | Table Sets | 15 | 11.5 |
| | | | | 20 | 12 |
| | | | | 20 | 13 |
| | | | | 50 | 12 |
| | | | | 67 | 1.9 |
| | | | Water Plates | 80 | 0.028 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 1980 | 0.028 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 1485 | 0.048 |
| | | | | 2233 | 0.043 |
| | Sweetia | B&W | Coffee Cups | 1087 | 0.01 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 1799 | 0.015 |
| | | | | 2107 | 0.038 |
| | | | | 3960 | 0.0225 |
| | | | | 6280 | 0.0225 |
| | | | | 8038 | 0.022462055 |
| | | | Dishes and Plates | 40 | 3 |
| | | | Fruit Dishes 3 In A Sets | 452 | 0.4 |
| | | | Half Pint Sneakers | 735 | 0.015 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 789 | 0.043 |
| | | | Table Sets | 80 | 1.2 |
| | | | Table Sets P.38 | 78 | 3.8 |
| | | | Tea Sets | 147 | 1.2 |
| | | | | 160 | 1.2 |
| | | Coloured and Gold | Cups and Saucers | 1216 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 3500 | 0.038 |
| | | Enamelled | Bowls | 333 | 0.7 |
| | | | | 490 | 0.22 |
| | | | Pint Sneakers | 313 | 0.04 |
| | | | Tea Sets | 60 | 1.7 |
| | | | | 90 | 2 |
| | Tinqua | B&W | Cups and Saucers | 180 | 0.02 |
| | | | | 4204 | 0.06 |
| | | | Flat Plates | 4160 | 0.036 |
| | | | Soup Plates | 1259 | 0.045 |
| | | Enamelled | Tea Sets | 50 | 1.2 |
| | | | | 50 | 1.2 |
| | | | | 50 | 1.2 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Toy Chong | B&W | Plates | 2960 | 0.032 |
| | | Enamelled | Cups and Saucers | 1683 | 0.05 |
| | Wing Chong | B&W | Bowls 3 Quarts | 76 | 0.28 |
| | | Enamelled and Gold | Bowls 2 Quarts | 132 | 0.45 |
| | | Enamelled and Paint | Bowls 3 Pints | 141 | 0.2 |
| | | Enamelled and Gold | Bowls 3 Quarts | 970 | 0.055 |
| | Yinqua | B&W | Table Sets | 27 | 12.5 |
| 1764 | Cowshaw | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Euroon Coon | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Pinqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Sinqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | | | 12 Wholes & 78 Half Chests of Chinaware | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Soychong | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Sundries | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| | Tarqua | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) | (Unknown) |
| 1768 | Linqua | B&W | 1 1/2 Bowls Pint | 1050 | 0.07 |
| | | | 1 1/2 Gallon Bowls | 15 | 1 |
| | | | 1/2 Gallon Bowls35 | 15 | 0.8 |
| | | | Bowls 1 Quart | 850 | 0.09 |
| | | | Breakfast Cups and Saucers | 4250 | 0.075 |
| | | | Chocolate Cups and Saucers with Handles 2 Patterns | 4250 | 0.052 |
| | | | Coffee Cans | 2500 | 0.014 |
| | | | Gallon Bowls | 35 | 0.3 |
| | | | Gallon Bows 2 Quarts | 300 | 0.15 |
| | | | Gallon Bows 3 Quarts | 100 | 0.25 |
| | | | Half Pint Sneakers | 5500 | 0.034 |
| | | | Handle Cups and Saucers | 4250 | 0.058 |
| | | | Long Dishes | 600 | 0.38 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Milk Ewers | 250 | 0.1 |
| | | | Patty Pans | 250 | 0.1 |
| | | | Pint Bowls | 550 | 0.12 |
| | | | Pint Sneakers 2 Patterns | 4750 | 0.04 |
| | | | Round Dishes 10 Inches | 400 | 0.1 |
| | | | Round Dishes 11 Inches | 400 | 0.11 |
| | | | Salad Dishes 4 In A Sets | 100 | 0.6 |
| | | | Single Plates | 7000 | 0.033 |
| | | | Sugar Dishes | 600 | 0.07 |
| | | | Table Sets | 50 | 12 |
| | | | | 100 | 15 |
| | | | Tea Cups and Saucers | 13000 | 0.043 |
| | | | | 29000 | 0.026 |
| | | | Tea Pots 2 Sizes | 350 | 0.1 |
| | | | Tea Sets | 120 | 1 |
| | | | Water Plates | 2700 | 0.026 |
| 1774 | Exchin | B&W | 1 pint mugs | 350 | 0.12 |
| | | | 1/2 pint cups and saucers | 28000 | 0.07 |
| | | | | 14000 | 0.09 |
| | | | Bason 1 pint | 28000 | 0.04 |
| | | | | 14000 | 0.055 |
| | | | Bason 1/2 pint | 28000 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 14000 | 0.035 |
| | | | Bowls 1 gallon | 350 | 0.3 |
| | | | | 350 | 0.33 |
| | | | Bowls 1 quart | 3500 | 0.08 |
| | | | | 5600 | 0.08 |
| | | | Bowls 2 quarts | 2100 | 0.18 |
| | | | | 1050 | 0.21 |
| | | | | 2800 | 0.13 |
| | | | Bowls 3 pints | 3500 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 4200 | 0.1 |
| | | | Bowls 3 quarts | 1400 | 0.27 |
| | | | Breakfast cups and saucers | 56000 | 0.042 |
| | | | | 28000 | 0.052 |
| | | | Breakfast sets | | |
| | | | | 70 | 1.2 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Cho. cups and saucers with handles | 7000 | 0.06 |
| | | | Chocolate cups with handles | 7000 | 0.05 |
| | | | Coffee cups with handles | 1400 | 0.026 |
| | | | Coffee cups without handles | 14000 | 0.025 |
| | | | Colored | | |
| | | | Cups and saucers | 12000 | 0.042 |
| | | | Custard cups | 7000 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 1400 | 0.05 |
| | | | Milk pots | 7000 | 0.05 |
| | | | | 7000 | 0.07 |
| | | | Mug 1 pint | 350 | 0.09 |
| | | | Mugs 1 quart | 350 | 0.15 |
| | | | | 350 | 0.11 |
| | | | Mugs 1/2 pint | 350 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 350 | 0.07 |
| | | | Mugs 1/4 pint | 350 | 0.1 |
| | | | Patty pans 3 in a sets | 7000 | 0.15 |
| | | | | 700 | 0.2 |
| | | | Plates | 35000 | 0.055 |
| | | | | 14000 | 0.08 |
| | | | Sauce boats | 2100 | 0.1 |
| | | | | 350 | 0.12 |
| | | | Slop bason plate sugar/box & cover/Tea pot/Milk Pot/Cups and saucers | 70 | 1.1 |
| | | | Soup plates | 7000 | 0.065 |
| | | | | 2800 | 0.09 |
| | | | Sugar boxes without covers | 3500 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 3500 | 0.1 |
| | | | Table sets Octagon and Oblong (see extra notes) | 140 | 19 |
| | | | Tea pots | 2100 | 0.08 |
| | | | | 2100 | 0.13 |
| | | | Tea sets | 140 | 1.5 |
| | | | | 280 | 1.8 |
| | | | Water plates | 5400 | 0.03 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Water plates deep | 1400 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 700 | 0.039 |
| | | | Water plates plat | 2800 | 0.036 |
| | | Colored | 1 gallon bowls | 200 | 0.33 |
| | | | 1 quart gallon bows | 3200 | 0.08 |
| | | | 1/4 pint mugs | 200 | 0.05 |
| | | | 2 quart gallon bowls | 1600 | 0.13 |
| | | | 3 pint gallon bowls | 2400 | 0.1 |
| | | | 3 quart gallon bowls | 800 | 0.27 |
| | | | Breakfast cups and saucers | 16000 | 0.052 |
| | | | Breakfast sets viz | 40 | 1.2 |
| | | | Chocolate cups with handles | 4000 | 0.16 |
| | | | Coffee cups | 4000 | 0.026 |
| | | | Cups and saucers | 240000 | 0.042 |
| | | | Custard cups | 800 | 0.05 |
| | | | Half pint bason | 8000 | 0.055 |
| | | | Half pint cups and saucers | 8000 | 0.09 |
| | | | Half pint mugs | 200 | 0.07 |
| | | | Milk pots | 4000 | 0.07 |
| | | | Patty pans 3 in a sets | 400 | 0.2 |
| | | | Pint bason | 8000 | 0.035 |
| | | | Pint mugs | 200 | 0.09 |
| | | | Plates | 8000 | 0.08 |
| | | | Quart mugs | 200 | 0.11 |
| | | | Sauce boats pair | 120 | 0.12 |
| | | | Soup plates | 1600 | 0.09 |
| | | | Sugar boxes and covers | 2000 | 0.1 |
| | | | Table sets | 40 | 30 |
| | | | Tea pots | 130 | 0.13 |
| | | | Tea sets | 160 | 1.8 |
| | | | Water plates | 1600 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.039 |
| 1776 | Exchin | B&W | Bowls | | 1.25 |
| | | | Breakfast C/S | | 0.072 |
| | | | Breakfast sets | | 1.1 |
| | | | Chocolate C/S | | 0.052 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Coffee cups | | 0.025 |
| | | | Custard cups | | 0.023 |
| | | | Fruit dishes | | 0.36 |
| | | | Half pint bason | | 0.032 |
| | | | Milk pots | | 0.15 |
| | | | Mugs | | 0.42 |
| | | | Patty pans | | 0.16 |
| | | | Pint sneakers | | 0.042 |
| | | | Plates | | 0.055 |
| | | | Sauce boats | | 0.3 |
| | | | Soup plates | | 0.065 |
| | | | Sugar bason | | 0.11 |
| | | | Table sets | | 19 |
| | | | Tea cups and saucers | | 0.033 |
| | | | | | 0.043 |
| | | | Tea pots | | 0.24 |
| | | | Tea sets | | 1.5 |
| | | | Water plates | | 0.032 |
| | | B&W ribbed | Bowls | | 1.35 |
| | | | Breakfast C/S | | 0.077 |
| | | | Breakfast sets | | 1.2 |
| | | | Chocolate C/S | | 0.055 |
| | | | Coffee cups | | 0.027 |
| | | | Custard cups | | 0.025 |
| | | | Fruit dishes | | 0.38 |
| | | | Half pint bason | | 0.035 |
| | | | Milk pots | | 0.17 |
| | | | Mugs | | 0.44 |
| | | | Patty pans | | 0.18 |
| | | | Pint sneakers | | 0.044 |
| | | | Plates | | * |
| | | | Sauce boats | | 0.32 |
| | | | Soup plates | | * |
| | | | Sugar bason | | 0.13 |
| | | | Table sets | | * |
| | | | Tea cups and saucers | | 0.035 |
| | | | | | 0.045 |
| | | | Tea pots | | 0.26 |
| | | | Tea sets | | 1.6 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Water plates | | * |
| | | Colored and Gilt | Bowls | | 1.5 |
| | | | Breakfast C/S | | 0.09 |
| | | | Breakfast sets | | 1.2 |
| | | | Chocolate C/S | | 0.06 |
| | | | Coffee cups | | 0.026 |
| | | | Custard cups | | 0.027 |
| | | | Fruit dishes | | 0.4 |
| | | | Half pint bason | | 0.035 |
| | | | Milk pots | | 0.21 |
| | | | Mugs | | 0.48 |
| | | | Patty pans | | 0.2 |
| | | | Pint sneakers | | 0.055 |
| | | | Plates | | 0.08 |
| | | | Sauce boats | | 0.36 |
| | | | Soup plates | | 0.095 |
| | | | Sugar bason | | 0.13 |
| | | | Table sets | | 30 |
| | | | Tea cups and saucers | | 0.042 |
| | | | | | 0.025 |
| | | | Tea pots | | 0.39 |
| | | | Tea sets | | 1.8 |
| | | | Water plates | | 0.036 |
| | | Colored and Gilt and Ribbed | Bowls | | 1.6 |
| | | | Breakfast C/S | | 0.094 |
| | | | Breakfast sets | | 1.3 |
| | | | Chocolate C/S | | 0.063 |
| | | | Coffee cups | | 0.028 |
| | | | Custard cups | | 0.029 |
| | | | Fruit dishes | | 0.42 |
| | | | Half pint bason | | 0.038 |
| | | | Milk pots | | 0.23 |
| | | | Mugs | | 0.5 |
| | | | Patty pans | | 0.22 |
| | | | Pint sneakers | | 0.057 |
| | | | Plates | | * |
| | | | Sauce boats | | 0.37 |
| | | | Soup plates | | * |
| | | | Sugar bason | | 0.15 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Table sets | | * |
| | | | Tea cups and saucers | | 0.044 |
| | | | | | 0.054 |
| | | | Tea pots | | 0.41 |
| | | | Tea sets | | 1.9 |
| | | | Water plates | | * |
| 1777 | Exchin | B&W | Bason | 32000 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 32000 | 0.04 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.08 |
| | | | | 4000 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 2400 | 0.018 |
| | | | | 1200 | 0.21 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.3 |
| | | | Breakfast Cups and Saucers | 64000 | 0.042 |
| | | | Breakfast sets | 80 | 1.1 |
| | | | Chocolate cups | 8000 | 0.05 |
| | | | Coffee cups | 16000 | 0.025 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 96000 | 0.032 |
| | | | Custard cups | 8000 | 0.05 |
| | | | Half pint Breakfast Cups and saucers | 32000 | 0.07 |
| | | | Milk pots | 8000 | 0.05 |
| | | | Mugs | 400 | 0.15 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.12 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.1 |
| | | | Patty pans | 800 | 0.15 |
| | | | Plates | 40000 | 0.055 |
| | | | Sauce boats | 2400 | 0.1 |
| | | | Soup plates | 8000 | 0.065 |
| | | | Sugar bason | 4000 | 0.13 |
| | | | Table sets | 160 | 19 |
| | | | Tea pots | 2400 | 0.08 |
| | | | Tea sets | 160 | 1.5 |
| | | | Water plates | 6400 | 0.03 |
| | | | | 1600 | 0.03 |
| | | Colored and Gold | Bason | 16000 | 0.035 |
| | | | | 16000 | 0.055 |
| | | | | 6400 | 0.08 |

| Year | Dealer | Type | Shape | Quantity | Unit Price (Taels of Silver) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 4800 | 0.1 |
| | | | | 3200 | 0.13 |
| | | | | 1600 | 0.27 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.33 |
| | | | Breakfast Cups and Saucers | 32000 | 0.052 |
| | | | Breakfast sets | 80 | 1.2 |
| | | | Chocolate cups | 8000 | 0.06 |
| | | | Coffee cups | 8000 | 0.026 |
| | | | Cups and Saucers | 48000 | 0.042 |
| | | | Custard cups | 1600 | 0.05 |
| | | | Half pint Breakfast Cups and saucers | 16000 | 0.09 |
| | | | Milk pots | 8000 | 0.07 |
| | | | Mugs | 400 | 0.11 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.09 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.07 |
| | | | | 400 | 0.05 |
| | | | Patty pans | 700 | 0.2 |
| | | | Plates | 16000 | 0.08 |
| | | | Sauce boats | 400 | 0.12 |
| | | | Soup plates | 3200 | 0.09 |
| | | | Sugar bason | 4000 | 0.1 |
| | | | Tea pots | 2400 | 0.13 |
| | | | Tea sets | 320 | 1.8 |
| | | | Water plates | 3200 | 0.036 |
| | | | | 800 | 0.039 |

**Appendix B** Imported B&W, Enamelled porcelain by the EEIC and VOC, 1729-1780.

**Notes**: B&W refers to Blue and White; * means unknown.

**Source:** the EEIC records are accounted by the author from Appendix A. I calculated by the pieces, for porcelain in sets, for example, Tea Sets, D.20/P.10, I counted this as 30 pieces.

The VOC records were taken from C. J. A. Jörg. The porcelain bought by the VOC to the Netherlands is surveyed in Jörg's book: *Porcelain and the Dutch China trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), Appendix 11. Porcelain is subdivided by him according to types arranged in alphabetical order and then subdivided by the colour and decoration. He has given 27 seven types of porcelain in terms of their decorations, but mostly are blue and white, enamelled porcelain, Chinese Imari and white porcelain. In order to use his Appendix in my thesis, I calculated the blue and white (no.1,2,3,8,11 of Jörg's order) and enamelled porcelain (no.10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26)

| Year | VOC B&W | VOC Enamelled | EEIC Enamelled | EEIC B&W |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1729 | 207735 | 628 | 78817 | 476393 |
| 1730 | 83692 | 19355 | * | * |
| 1731 | 364726 | 73643 | * | 550926 |
| 1732 | 319011 | 134846 | 198871 | 616591 |
| 1733 | 744281 | 93818 | 101918 | 1155606 |
| 1734 | 0 | 0 | 10650 | * |
| 1735 | 0 | 0 | 43795 | * |
| 1736 | 130471 | 23654 | 31532 | 608195 |
| 1737 | 324827 | 77982 | 93316 | 604156 |
| 1738 | 191698 | 5045 | * | 470835 |

| Year | VOC B&W | VOC Enamelled | EEIC Enamelled | EEIC B&W |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1739 | 150490 | 0 | 20440 | 880677 |
| 1740 | 200583 | 25075 | * | * |
| 1741 | 270 | 0 | 35953 | * |
| 1742 | 145035 | 21319 | 57119 | 285255 |
| 1743 | 467207 | 81185 | * | * |
| 1744 | 529969 | 20342 | * | * |
| 1745 | 549211 | 5196 | * | * |
| 1746 | 481258 | 8686 | * | * |
| 1747 | 466354 | 29877 | * | * |
| 1748 | 400554 | 57598 | * | * |
| 1749 | 212995 | 39060 | * | * |
| 1750 | 285189 | 53719 | 58869 | 418993 |
| 1751 | 308535 | 7515 | 22965 | 415632 |
| 1752 | 391209 | 99740 | * | * |
| 1753 | 351449 | 62034 | 68834 | 363474 |
| 1755 | 0 | 0 | * | 368138 |
| 1757 | 197212 | 14587 | * | * |
| 1758 | 491603 | 160447 | * | * |
| 1759 | 553191 | 69685 | 85909 | 561287 |
| 1760 | 514429 | 217366 | * | * |
| 1761 | 284512 | 71415 | 90050 | 429872 |
| 1762 | 468116 | 174334 | * | * |
| 1763 | 349704 | 104843 | * | * |
| 1764 | 396309 | 157362 | * | * |
| 1765 | 410415 | 195081 | * | * |
| 1766 | 365564 | 257589 | * | * |
| 1767 | 384562 | 171588 | * | * |
| 1768 | 343250 | 264897 | * | 84445 |
| 1769 | 416481 | 259038 | * | * |
| 1770 | 450073 | 337740 | * | * |
| 1771 | 469583 | 278965 | * | * |
| 1772 | 401087 | 142997 | * | * |
| 1773 | 416361 | 155801 | * | * |
| 1774 | 440595 | 215606 | 533816 | 941345 |
| 1775 | 347522 | 206217 | * | * |
| 1776 | 347796 | 199920 | 533816 | 941345 |
| 1777 | 312058 | 213004 | 417184 | 700138 |
| 1778 | 405213 | 250016 | * | * |
| 1779 | 447478 | 201987 | * | * |
| 1780 | 347186 | 211565 | * | * |

**Appendix C** Album paintings on Chinese porcelain manufacture containing Canton porcelain shops.

| Collection | Collection Number | Date | Numbers of Album leaves | Material | Dimension |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lund University, University Library | BH no.174 | *c.*1730s | 50 | Gouache on paper | 41 x 31 cm |
| Bibliothèque nationale de France | Oe.104 | *c.*1730s-*c.*1740s | 50 | Watercolour on silk | unknown |
| Hong Kong Maritime Museum | HKMM2012.0101.0001-34 | *c.*1750s | 34 | Watercolours | 19 x 20 cm |
| Musée des beaux-arts de Rennes | 794.1.616-2-27 | Mid-eighteenth century | 26 | Watercolours | 33 x 28 cm |
| Keramiekmuseum Princessehof, Leeuwarden | Inv. No. 5485-5512 | End of the eighteenth century | 28 | Watercolours | 30 x 28 cm |
| Victoria and Albert Museum | E.59-1910 | *c.*1770-1790 | 24 | Watercolours | 40 x 60 cm |
| The British Museum | 1946,0713,0.1.1-24 | Early nineteenth century | 24 | Watercolours | 39 x 51 cm |
| Peabody Essex Museum | E81592 | Early nineteenth century | 24 | Gouache on paper | 39 x 51 cm |

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IOR/G/12/27, IOR/G/12/28, IOR/G/12/29, IOR/G/12/30, IOR/G/12/31,

IOR/G/12/32, IOR/G/12/33, IOR/G/12/34, IOR/G/12/35, IOR/G/12/36,

IOR/G/12/37, IOR/G/12/38, IOR/G/12/39, IOR/G/12/40, IOR/G/12/41,

IOR/G/12/42, IOR/G/12/43, IOR/G/12/45, IOR/G/12/46, IOR/G/12/47,

IOR/G/12/48, IOR/G/12/49, IOR/G/12/50, IOR/G/12/52, IOR/G/12/53

IOR/G/12/54, IOR/G/12/54, IOR/G/12/55, IOR/G/12/56, IOR/G/12/57,

IOR/G/12/58, IOR/G/12/59, IOR/G/12/60

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